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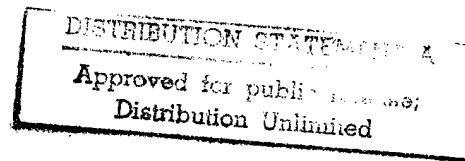
JPRS 83963

25 July 1983

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2170



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25 July 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2170

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIANS CALL FOR ADDITIONAL 'PEACE ACTIONS'

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Jun 83 p 5

[Report by foreign correspondents Andras Kereszty and Peter Lovasz: "The World Peace Forum in Prague Deliberating in Professional Groups"]

[Text] On Friday [24 June], the World Peace Rally in Prague continued with the sessions of 11 professional groups. Whereas during the first days of the rally the participants debated topics of general interest, now a dialogue on the question of preventing nuclear war has begun within professional groups. The women's movements, representatives of the trade unions, teachers, doctors, writers, artists, members of elected political bodies, churchmen, lawyers, scientists, and journalists deliberated separately. Simultaneously an international drafting committee has begun its work that will submit to the final plenary session, on the basis of the contributions to the debate, the draft of the Prague World Peace Rally's appeal.

Imre Pozsgay, secretary general of the Patriotic People's Front National Council and head of the Hungarian delegation, held a press conference on Friday morning. He emphasized that since the liberation, Hungarian foreign policy has been characterized by a policy of peace. Therefore the Hungarian peace movement can find fulfillment in cooperation with the government, rather than in debate with the government.

Speaking of the planned deployment of American missiles in Europe, he explained that the views of the Hungarian government and of the Hungarian peace movement were in accord with the standpoint that the Warsaw Pact's political consultative committee had adopted at its January session in Prague.

Imre Pozsgay reviewed the specific proposals that the Hungarian delegation presented to the rally. These include the proposal to the World Peace Council that European Security Week be held from 25 August through 1 September, on the 35th anniversary of the Wroclaw World Meeting of Intellectuals. On 1 September, in the afternoon, demonstrations against nuclear arms should be held throughout Europe. United Nations Disarmament Week, from 24 through 31 October, likewise provides a good opportunity for joint peace actions.

Imre Pozsgay mentioned also the proposal to hold a European peace rally next year in Budapest. American peace organizations and peace activists also would be invited. The Budapest rally could provide a suitable foundation for United Nations Peace Year. The Hungarian peace movement would gladly act as host.

Imre Pozsgay met on Friday with Yuriy Zhukov, the head of the Soviet delegation. Mrs Nandor Sebestyen, chairman of the National Peace Council, and Barna Sarkadi Nagy, the council's secretary general, also were present at the discussions.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CULTURAL, ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH TURKEY EXAMINED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Jun 83 p 5

[Text] The chairman of the Hungarian council of ministers visited Turkey last November, and within the next few days we will be host to the Turkish prime minister visiting Hungary. Since the first half of the 1960's, a favorable change has begun in relations between our country and Turkey. In 1967 we raised our diplomatic missions to the status of embassies, and there have been exchanges of visitors by the ministers for foreign affairs and the prime ministers, and international agreements have been concluded.

Turkey is a traditional trading partner of Hungary. The development of economic relations was specified in the 1974 trade agreement, and in the 1977 agreement on economic, technical, industrial and scientific cooperation. The Hungarian-Turkish Joint Commission on Economic Cooperation and Trade meets regularly.

The Hungarian-Turkish trade turnover developed favorably until the end of the 1970's. Since 1980, however, the value of the trade turnover has dropped to one-third (50 million dollars in 1982). Shipments by the Transelektro, Chemolimpex, and Metallimpex foreign-trade enterprises account for 83 percent of export.

At last year's talks between the two prime ministers, main attention focused on the questions of bilateral economic cooperation and trade. Both parties agreed that mutual deliveries had to be increased considerably, that suitable opportunities to do so had to be found, and that simultaneously methods had to be sought for maintaining economic cooperation and trade at the specified level, irrespectively of the business cycle. Such agreements could be joint ventures, production cooperations, and cooperation on the markets of third countries.

Evaluating the mutual economic relations, the two sides agreed that possibilities for expansion existed particularly in municipal mass transport, power plant investments, agriculture, development of port facilities, in the machine tool industry, and in construction-industry cooperation on the markets of third countries. Hungary's accession to the World Bank enabled also domestic enterprises to participate in the World Bank's programs in Turkey.

In sum it can be established that the agreements concluded last year, and the mutually declared intentions, provided a good foundation for the expansion of trade.

Cultural and scientific relations with Turkey started to develop in the second half of the 1970's, came to a sudden halt when the military government assumed power in Turkey, and are again becoming more lively as a result of the three-year cultural and scientific exchange program agreed upon in February of 1981.

The joint work of historians, the preservation and maintenance of historical monuments, Turkish studies, and Hungarian studies are of potential mutual interest. The joint committee of Hungarian and Turkish historians, attached to the two countries' academies of sciences, has been functioning fruitfully since 1978. Relations in music and the performing arts are good. A week of Turkish films was held recently in Budapest and Pecs, for example. A week of Hungarian films will be held in Turkey this autumn.

Restoration of Kossuth's home in Kutahya, and of Rakoczi's home in Tekirdag, was completed last year. Both historical sites have been converted into museums. A Hungarian request of long standing is that Turkey lend Hungary, for the large-scale exhibition marking the opening of our national library, the Corvin volumes [from the library of King Mathias Corvin] that, in the opinion of experts, are to be found in Turkey. Turkey is now introducing a legislative bill that will make the Corvin volumes available for display.

The sister-city or sister-megye relations between Kutahya and Pecs, and between Tekirdag and Sarospatak, are playing a favorable role in the development of relations between the two countries. (MTI)

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COOPERATIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH ROMANIA HELD

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Jun 83 p 5

[Text] On Friday [24 June], the Romanian consumer cooperatives delegation headed by Paul Nicolescu, a member of the Romanian CP Political Executive Committee and chairman of Centrocoop, left Budapest after a five-day visit as guests of SZOVOSZ [National Federation of Cooperatives]. The leaders of the two countries' consumer cooperative movements briefed each other on their current economic and social tasks and defined the tasks in conjunction with the further development of their cooperation. They established that fulfillment of the objectives specified in the five-year protocol on cooperation was proceeding on target. They agreed on the need to expand the trade turnover, in which the cooperative movements of both countries were keenly interested. The Romanian cooperative delegation visited Heves and Komarom megyes to study the consumer cooperatives' tasks in conjunction with organizing production on household plots and complementary farms, and to become acquainted with the operations of the commercial and industrial establishments of several cooperatives.

Ferenc Havasi, a member of the MSZMP Politburo and a secretary of the Central Committee, received Paul Nicolescu. SZOVOSZ chairman Istvan Szlamenicky, and Victor Bolojan, Romania's ambassador to Hungary, were present at the meeting. (MTI)

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR PREMILITARY TRAINING HEAD INTERVIEWED ON DOSAAF CONGRESS

East Berlin SPORT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 31 No 5, May 83 pp 6-7

[Interview with Vice Adm Guenter Kutzschebauch, chairman GST Central Executive Board, on the results of the Ninth All-Union Congress of DOSAAF in Moscow: "School of Patriotism"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Vice Admiral, you headed the GST Central Executive Board delegation that attended the Ninth All-Union Congress of DOSAAF. What impressions did you bring back from Moscow?

[Answer] The 103 million DOSAAF members are fulfilling their tasks with a high sense of responsibility and great energy. They are making an inestimable contribution to strengthening the defense capacity of their country and the military protection of socialism. This is a fact the Ninth DOSAAF Congress has impressively confirmed.

Having been elected the chairman of the GST Central Executive Board, I received the first direct opportunity to become familiar with the working method and the results of the activity of our strongest and most experienced brother organization. In the Kremlin Palace, this tradition-rich meeting site of the Soviet communists, I had many talks with congress delegates who had come to Moscow from all union republics and from autonomous oblasts and krays. We shall do all we can, they kept saying, to help secure peace in the world and not give the class enemy even the slightest chance. I have been much impressed by such determination and ardor.

The CPSU Central Committee has paid high tribute to the work of DOSAAF. In a welcoming address the party executive thanked the members of the defense organization for all they had done for national defense. In DOSAAF, it says, millions of Soviet people are attending a school of patriotism and are learning what is needed for their doing their duty to the protection of the fatherland. With it, the conviction was expressed that in the future as well the defense organization would contribute to further strengthening the country's defense capacity.

[Question] Which problems received the major emphasis on the 3-day congress?

[Answer] The main topic of the status report of the DOSAAF Central Committee of the USSR as well as of the points made in the discussions was instilling Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism in DOSAAF members. Many delegates reported vividly about the results of military-patriotic education and about the cultivation and preservation of the revolutionary militant and working traditions of the party, the Soviet peoples and the armed forces. In the years ahead, DOSAAF intends to familiarize especially youth still more with the bravery and steadfastness of the heroes of World War II and educate them in that spirit.

It matters to our friends in DOSAAF to inculcate in all members the readiness selflessly to protect their Soviet homeland and, thereby, world peace. The congress assessment that armed forces replacements are improving year after year mainly speaks for effective military-patriotic education.

[Question] What place value did the DOSAAF Congress attach to premilitary training?

[Answer] The congress reasserted that readying the youth for service in the Soviet Army and Navy was the main thrust in the work of the defense organization. Specialized armed forces training will play an increasing role. Therein the DOSAAF members find their practical contribution to consolidating the fighting potential of the USSR armed forces. The congress issued a number of measures to improve the quality and efficiency of premilitary training further in all committees and training organizations. So DOSAAF aims at further improving the recruits' practical training and pay more attention to inculcating high moral and patriotic traits in all young people and encouraging discipline, physical capacities and military conduct. It is also important to mention in this context that the congress also paid much attention to the mass character of defense sports as there is, after all, an inseparable connection between preparing the youth for military service and the training in defense sports. At present, 32 million people are engaged in these types of sports in the USSR.

[Question] Did you not also meet Navy Admiral Yegorov in Moscow, who was re-elected chairman of the DOSAAF Central Committee, and the chairmen of other fraternal organizations who also attended the congress? What impressions did you bring back from those meetings?

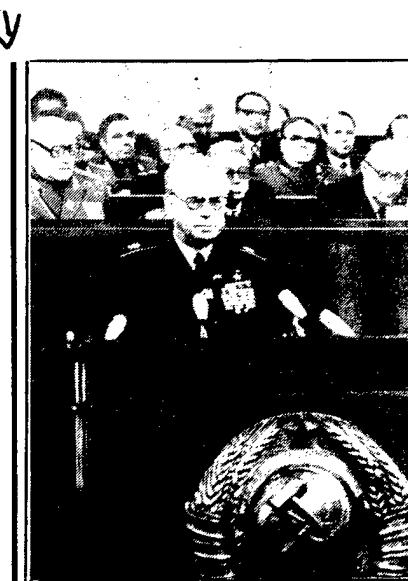
[Answer] Comrade Yegorov, the chairmen of the fraternal organizations and I myself know from our activities within our countries' armed forces how important it is thoroughly to prepare the future soldiers for their military service, and so we shall do everything we can in our present functions so that our defense organizations can fulfill this important task in honors.

In my address to the congress I asserted that the GST members have always proven faithful friends of the Soviet Union and, in close comradeship-in-arms with DOSAAF, will be equal to the task of preparing youth for their responsible military service on behalf of securely protecting peace and socialism. In view of the aggravation of the international situation, which has to be blamed on the most aggressive imperialist circles, a growing importance attaches to extending our fraternal relations with the Soviet Union which bears the main burden in the protection of socialism and the securing of peace. The results of DOSAAF efforts present us with a large store of experiences which we shall use prudently and from which we shall continue to learn.



V Adm Kutzschebauch

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Adm Georgi M. Yegorov, reelected
chairman of the DOSAAF Central Committee

BULGARIA

CONCENTRATED EFFORTS TO BOOST MORALE, DISCIPLINE OF MILITIA

Discipline-Inculcating Measures Described

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 8 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by Duty Editor Col Stoyan Stoyanov: "Every Employee's Business"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] On the eve of the unified political day in the People's militia on the subject of "Tightening Up Discipline and Strict Observance of the Socialist Rule of Law--the Business of Every Employee," the most diverse initiatives are being taken in the units in the spirit of the DNM's [People's Militia Directorate] instructions. This is confirmed by the reports received by telephone at the editorial office.

Businesslike and Critical Participation

The measures envisaged in the plan for the unified political day are taking place in the subunits of the Sofia MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] City Administration in a heightened spirit of activism on the part of the entire personnel of the People's Militia. The tone for diverse ideological, educational and political work was set by organizing and holding a conference with key officials and active party members, at which the chief of the administration, Maj Gen Dimitur Yotov, personally delivered a detailed analytical speech on discipline and the rule of law as basic criteria and prerequisites for elevating the political and professional maturity of personnel.

Immediately after the conference, talks began and are still continuing in the party organizations and in the groups on the subject of "The Communist and Team Discipline." At these meetings with no speakers, those in attendance point out in a businesslike, critical and self-critical manner the reasons for specific infractions and indicate the necessity for heightening stringency, control and self-control, as well as the role and place of every worker in creating an atmosphere of implacability towards negative phenomena and in establishing the strict routine prescribed by regulations.

In connection with the unified political day, alcoves with literature treating the problems of discipline and the rule of law have been set up in the libraries

of the rayon administrations at the initiative of the political workers. This collection of articles and other materials has proved very useful in preparing employees for active participation in individual events.

Effective Educational Activity

/Throughout the period of preparation for the unified political day diverse and effective ideological and educational work has been organized in the subunits of the Khaskovo MVR Okrug Administration.

/The meetings of individual groups with military investigator Maj Atanas Pendarov have proceeded with particular interest. At these meetings, proceeding from concrete examples in the practical experience of the employees, he directs particular attention to the necessity of lawful and law-observant actions in the conduct of every employee. These talks help enrich the personnel's legal knowledge and heighten their responsibility.

/Discussions of some of the materials in the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO [Workers' Cause], published under the heading of "Rust," as well as the article, "On Behalf of Order," in the newspaper PRAVDA [Truth] of 21 March 1983 have also played a positive mobilizing role during preparation of the unified political day.

/The communists and the personnel of the KAT [Automotive Transportation Control] Section in the administration have already participated in a scientific and practical conference on the problems of an active vital position./

The Conclusion Is Favorable

The unified political days that have been scheduled in the subunits of the Mikhaylovgrad MVR Okrug Administration have been held with the active participation of the employees in the big discussion of discipline and the rule of law.

To come are the organization and holding of the final unified political day with the participation of the key officials and active party members of all the rayon administrations. On this day the deputy chief of the NM [People's Militia] Administration will give a speech and detailed replies will be made regarding the measures that have been undertaken to fulfill the proposals and recommendations offered at previous events.

The effectiveness of this event and its tremendous ideological, political and professional significance will be measured and assessed for the first time. But even now the conclusion is favorable. In the KAT section, for example, the unified political day has contributed to fuller and more rational utilization and care of equipment, as well as to the taking of urgent measures for the procurement of new apparatus.

Contribution of Noncommissioned Officer Councils

What is notable about the preparation for the unified political day in the subunits of the Kurdzhali Okrug Administration are the talks that the chiefs, party

and Komsomol secretaries are conducting with the personnel, and especially with those persons inclined towards infractions. Preparations are now being made at the Momchilgrad Rayon Administration for "An Evening of Outstanding Workers and Front-Rankers."

On the eve of the final stage of the unified political day, care is being taken with the holding of high-standard report-back meetings of noncommissioned officers' councils on their contribution to the campaign to tighten up discipline and the socialist rule of law. . .

These and many other examples besides confirm that the assigned purpose of the unified political day will be achieved. Employees of the People's Militia will welcome the National Party Conference with a heightened sense of responsibility for an even higher-grade performance of their tasks, with high personal discipline, consciousness and activeness in the campaign to guarantee the security and tranquility of the working people.

Individual Work Stressed

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 8 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by Aleksandur Antonov, NARODEN STRAZH correspondent: "Power of Individual Work"]

[Text] One of the main conditions for achieving high labor efficiency is to have sound discipline. The primary party organization in the Ruse MVR KAT Section has always regarded discipline not as a means, but first and foremost as a result of well organized and purposeful educational work. And whenever, based on the need for higher quality and better results in control activity, the problem of discipline is placed in the forefront, the party organization has first of all set about improving educational work, building mainly on individual work. In this area our party has rich experience. But there can be purposeful individual work only when the subject is well known, and that not just in his immediate performance on the job, but also away from it--in his family, in his district, in society. For sometimes a given member of a team, including a communist, is perceived in one way from the viewpoint of his on-the-job performance but is very different in his contacts with his surroundings off the job. There are numerous examples when the reasons for lowered job performance have their roots in family, friends etc.

That is why last year when the problem of tightening up discipline was assigned for discussion first in the party groups, next at a party meeting, and thereafter conclusions were drawn from these, the conclusion was reached to set up in the party office a card index which would contribute to greater purposefulness in individual personnel work.

The Card Index a Truthful Mirror

It was started by setting up cards for those employees who had let their job performance drop. The reasons for this had to be sought with the help of the party members responsible for them and their immediate superiors. But they

do not always come to the surface. Let us take, for example, employee X. For him it was found that not only had he let his job performance drop, he sometimes forgot to get his assignments done on time and experienced unusual absent-mindedness. On his card, in addition to data about where he lived, what work his wife did, what penalties and rewards he had received and what his domestic living conditions were, the task was assigned of checking out his family relationships, arranging individual meetings separately with the employee and his wife, and making an evaluation of his work to the party group. The communist who was to carry out this individual work was appointed. It was anticipated that an evaluation would be made in three months' time of the results of this communist's individual work. Later, to clarify some questions and get help, this communist arranged a meeting with the party secretary at the institution where the wife of his individual-work subject was employed. This approach proved very useful. Not only were the reasons distracting the attention of the KAT employee clarified, but also purposeful measures to eliminate them were taken. Lo and behold, his discipline was boosted and flashes of improvement in his work were noted.

Cards like this have been made up for all employees. For any of them on whom educational influence must be exerted in order to stimulate his work, a notation is made on his card specifying exactly what has to be accomplished and who should do it, regarding which a report must be made in a specified time. This makes for order and system and purposefulness in individual personnel work. It is no accident that this experiment has become the subject of study by a number of party offices of organizations in other MVR okrug administrations. What is valuable about it is the fact that with the help of a smaller or larger staff the reasons for the deficiencies displayed in the performance of a given communist or nonparty member are discussed, a specifically designated communist is made responsible for finding the surest ways of bringing influence to bear and he directs and carries out this educational process.

On the cards of employees prone to infractions, a notation is made of the area in which these infractions occur and under the influence of what they take place. Included here also are tips regarding good or bad behavior outside the work environment. This makes it possible for prospective educational work to take on a more specific character.

Timely Help Is Most Valuable

These few months during which the primary party organization in the KAT section has carried out broader organizational work for the improvement of individual personnel work so as to raise the sense of responsibility for assigned tasks and tighten up discipline, have confirmed how important it is for the communist and for the individual employee that help be timely. We do not wait now, as the saying goes, till somebody is mired in a bog and then give him a hand. The effort is to give help in good time.

A tip is received that a KAT employee from time to time after work likes to sit around the table in taverns. Yet even if he drinks only a little, he has an urge to become a showoff, to be the center of attention. But sometimes he

does not realize what he is saying and very often his words give grounds for getting a radically erroneous notion about KAT agencies. The fact that a citizen was outraged by this behavior of his and tipped off the party organization about this weakness was very indicative of the need for a concrete talk. And there was no room for delay. At first the KAT employee did not grasp the "accusation." In such cases, resisting forces appear in many people. Patient and aggressive effort is necessary, however. A communist experienced in individual work undertook this task. The effect was very good. But the question merited being made the occasion for a talk in the group from which the offender hailed. Although his name was not mentioned, his comrades did not insist on hearing it, the more so as this talk was aimed not just at the undisciplined employee, but at all who do this, voluntarily or involuntarily, among their intimates or among strangers.

A talk with the female employees, who are mainly employed in administrative services for citizens, also led to effective results. Directory boards were made up showing at what window the latter should apply for what services. Needy persons are now served much more efficiently.

Several days ago, still with the purpose of tightening up discipline, a talk was held with Road Control employees in order to step up their activity in discovering the errors and slip-ups of drivers that at first glance are invisible. The thoroughness displayed in the analysis and the proposals made suggested that such a talk merited being held on the problem of traffic organization as well.

It is no accident, either, that no disciplinary infractions occurred in the section last year and that an upsurge in the overall work was experienced. The results during the first quarter of 1983, which depict a different trend, have given a more specific purposefulness to individual work to tighten up discipline. There is no doubt that in this case, too, the primary party organization will find the surest key to success.

Strictness and Supervision

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 8 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by Rayno Dobrev, NARODEN STRAZH correspondent]

[Text] "Is it easy for you to be disciplined?" I asked this question of MSgt Khristo Petrov, secretary of the Komsomol Society at the Stara Zagora Transportation Militia Rayon Administration.

He looked at me, smiled and said, "Before I answer you, I want us to agree on one point: all discipline is the fruit of some compulsion. In this sense there is no easy discipline. But if we regard it as conscious conduct, in which there is no room for compulsion, it is not only easy but, I would say, pleasant."

This time I looked at him in surprise. Facing me stood an individual, young but capable of rapid concentration, and with people like him you don't just talk at random.

"What you say," I tried again, "is absolutely right. If we referred it to the Komsomol members of your society, which would win out--compulsion or consciousness?"

"Are you trying to provoke me?"

"No, I'm serious."

"Then I'll tell you: consciousness."

"The facts?"

"There are many; Here is one: of the guard personnel, nearly half are Komsomol members, yet 70 percent of the crimes detected last year were their doing. How do you think such a result would be obtained if there were compulsion?"

The matter was turning into an argument and there was no need of this. Therefore I asked, "The figures are quite impressive, but how did you achieve them? What was the organizational mechanism that you as secretary and the society office used?"

"The mechanism is simple: specific tasks and systematic supervision. The members of our society guard dozens of railroad stations in four okrugs. Everyone of them knows what his duties are and what his responsibility is. He is told this the moment he arrives at the administration. Through our channels we give him a Komsomol assignment in which, apart from his duties, there is a clause about his personal discipline. To be sure, we use other ways as well--from collective study of the regulations and meetings with veterans to the critical disciplinary analysis at the end of every quarter. I have been secretary for 2 years. During that time only one Komsomol member, MSGT Delcho Zhelyazkov, went astray. It was almost all up with him. We interceded with the noncommissioned officers' council and saved him. He appreciated our confidence and last year he was third in the socialist competition. Out of a total of six places to be won, five were taken by Komsomol members. Not a meeting was held at which we didn't talk about discipline. Sometimes without any reason--as a preventive measure. Our experience thus far shows that there is no more effective educational influence than systematic strictness and supervision. Actually, this is a principle that we never forget. Thanks to it, Komsomol member MSGt Stoyan Gochev became a coach of newly enrolled employees and MSGt Tsanko Stanchev an outstanding worker of the Ministry of Transportation. Do you need more facts?"

I shook my head. The man who is disciplined in his work is efficient and brief in his words. Tersely and precisely MSGt Khristo Petrov had told me everything, namely that at the Stara Zagora Transportation Militia Rayon Administration the Komsomol members stand fast in positions they themselves have chosen.

Employees Answer Newspaper Criticism

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 8 Jun 83 p 3

[Letter to the editor: "'Good Intention Must Be Transformed into Reality";
passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] In connection with the critical materials published in issue No. 8 of 21 February 1983 under the headline "Good Intention Must Be Transformed into Reality," a group of employees from the Vratsa MVR Rayon Administration writes us as follows:

The article was considered at a meeting of all personnel of the Vratsa MVR Rayon Administration. We find the questions treated in it very important and urgent. They are not of daily, but hourly interest and worry to us. We are constantly confronted with problems like those facing the Pernik militia.

Many noncommissioned and commissioned officers spoke in support of the arguments of the article. Let us pass on in brief summary the thoughts of the following.

/Captain Kiril Popov,/ platoon commander: "Though in sharply critical but realistic form, the article is to my liking. It will help me in looking for and finding the right solution to many questions. In our outfit the organization of patrol and point duty was reexamined last year and improved. Our results during this period were very good. What is alarming, however, is the state of our communication facilities. When they are new, they operate perfectly, but later . . . faults occur every day. Due to this, communication with the points is lost and our organization is disrupted. Coordination of the duty details cannot be effected. We have radio sets that were sent to Sofia for repair and have not been returned to us for 2 months now. And this holds up our work.

"The credit limit allotted us for patrol vehicles does not tally with the prescriptive documents of the ministry. We well understand the appeals for economies but the operational situation admits of no delay.

"The question of the new cars that we got in exchange for our old worn-out vehicles must be decided, too. They came here painted an unsuitable color. A needless repaint job was necessitated and in a year the paint fell off. I believe that the motor vehicles we use should be specially equipped and of uniform type."

/Maj Velimir Simeonov,/ deputy chief of rayon administration: "We maintain beneficial contacts with the Protection of Public Order Administration and with NIKK [expansion unknown] of the DNM. We are awaiting approval of methods for organizing and reporting socialist competition, as well as criteria for reporting the labor of noncommissioned officers. How they should all perform their duties conscientiously during a duty detail is still a 'sore' point. We help the weak and passive ones. Obviously we must step up supervision. Here

is the way matters stand with DOT [dobrovolnite otryadi na trudeshtite se; volunteer detachments of workers]. Every evening an average of 80 detachment members come to the okrug city to help the NM [People's Militia]. We attach them to patrols by sectors. But the instruction accomplished with DOT is not up to standard."

/MSgt Georgi Kotsev,/ rayon administration duty noncommissioned officer: "SOT [expansion unknown; possibly spetsialnite otryadi na trudeshtite se, special detachments of workers] alerts hold us up inordinately--90 percent of them are for organizational and technical reasons. Often in the event of an SOT callup other patrol sectors are denuded."

/Maj Angel Dimitrov,/ rayon administration deputy chief: "The article stirred up great interest among the personnel. It hinted at the pains of patrol and point duty. It will probably also be scrutinized in other subunits and services.

"The article in the newspaper NARODEN STRAZH forces the employees of the Vratsa MVR Rayon Administration to conclude that in order to achieve a decisive change in improvement of the work and to perform official tasks in a high-grade way and on time, high-level conscious discipline and self-discipline are necessary."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BOOK ON FRG-GDR CULTURAL-POLITICAL DIFFERENCES REVIEWED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Jun 83 p 10

["Two Cultures--Two States? A Comparative 'Cultural-Political Dictionary'" --Review by Iring Fetscher of book "Kulturpolitisches Woerterbuch, Bundesrepublik Deutschland/Deutsche Demokratische Republik im Vergleich" (Cultural-Political Dictionary, Federal Republic of Germany/German Democratic Republic: A Comparative Approach) by Wolfgang R. Langenbucher, Ralf Rytlewski and Bernd Weyergraf; J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsgesellschaft, Stuttgart, 1983, 828 pages, DM 48.00]

[Text] The authors interpret the term "cultural politics" unusually broadly. It probably would have been more accurate to speak of "culture and politics" in the two states. The "Comparative Dictionary" was presumably patterned on the excellent six-volume "Comparative encyclopedia" published by C.D. Kernig more than 10 years ago under the title "Soviet System and Democratic Society."

What was accomplished in an exemplary fashion at that time, proved to be extremely difficult in this effort which is limited to one volume and a narrowly defined subject. I'm a great friend of reference books and can't imagine a useful library without them. But I don't know whether I would buy this book for myself. Rather, for a number of concepts I would consult philosophical, sociological or political-scientific dictionaries, and for facts about the GDR, I would look them up in the GDR's own encyclopedias or respective specialized books. The reason for this dictionary was the growing interest in recent years in the cultural dimensions of politics (and/or in the political dimension of culture). The purpose was to answer the question whether, and to what extent, the population of the two German states continues to share certain common cultural characteristics and whether there may be indications of the incipient development of "two cultures."

As the facts would indicate, the answers to this question vary quite a bit in the individual articles. It is refreshing to see that the condescending tone so often prevalent in works on the GDR, has been avoided almost entirely and that also those aspects of social and cultural reality in the GDR are shown which the GDR can be proud of and which signal its superiority in some respects.

What does one find in this book? A not-too-large number of mostly very carefully written articles on topics ranging from "Superstition" to "Cynicism," from "Everyday Life" to "Zoological Garden," from "Eating and Drinking" to "Philosophy." Random checks revealed: Strangely enough, in the article on "Everyday Life", there is no reference whatsoever to Juergen Kuczynski's five-volume "History of Everyday Life of the German People," published in the GDR and also here between 1980 and 1982. Although it ends with the year 1945, it is highly relevant in light of its discussion of more recent developments (in the GDR, for instance, of urban development) and its focus on everyday life. The article on zoological gardens is a surprise because it mentions the excellent condition of the East Berlin zoo, the more frequent visits by the GDR population to the zoo (two thirds compared to one third in the Federal Republic) as well as the vastly superior staffing of the zoo with scientific personnel.

The references to "Festivals and Life Style in the GDR" are most revealing in that they describe, and illustrate by examples, problems of linking "acquired tradition" to the creation of a new "socialist people's culture." Almost all articles convey the impression that the authors are much more familiar with the FRG scene than with that of the GDR and, therefore, in a position to describe them in more detail and with greater clarity. Those who are looking for anti-Fascist literature, may want to read the article on "Exile," which, however, cannot cover all aspects of this topic--on which views differ significantly in the two states. "Eating and Drinking" shows that, although in both states the sugar and meat consumption has risen and, here as there, the typical obesity problems of an affluent society are beginning to show, GDR cooking has, in many respects, remained more typically "German" and the drinking habits are very different (also because of the lack in the GDR of better wine-growing regions). I was surprised that there was no mention of either vodka (from Poland and the USSR) or Hungarian and other wines from CEMA countries (or the sweet Crimean champagne).

It seems to me worthwhile to note that differences in life styles are more relevant than those in living standards which display considerable (if sometimes delayed) similarities. Of course, these differences show themselves in all those areas which, in the FRG, are subject to the free market and, in the GDR, to a centrally planned economy (fine arts trade, writers, etc.) The articles on "Cabaret," "Caricature," "Satire," "Censorship" point out that, while neither German state has official censorship, the GDR operates a highly efficient bureaucratic prescreening system for all publications and public performances which corresponds to our Federal Control Office for Youth Corrupting Publications [Bundespruefstelle fuer jugend- gefahrdende Schriften] and (partially unplanned) self-imposed censorship of authors (especially in the electronic media).

The pressure to write under virtual state/party supervision has led some GDR authors to develop highly subtle forms of indirect criticism and satire which we here obviously don't need to revert to. At the same time, state supervision in the GDR indicates a higher function of literature which, in many instances, also takes the place of a free, broadly oriented press and of political opposition papers.

It is easy to find gaps in such a dictionary. For example, an article on trivia literature is missing. It is quite possible that detective stories are mentioned somewhere, but they are not listed in the index.

A shortcoming that is probably hard to overcome is the lack (or the small number) of references to Soviet influence which is reflected not only in expressions (such as "dacha" and "combine," the Russification of originally American terms!), but also in institutions and value concepts. Also, it would have been interesting to have a more comprehensive article on trends in the official (and real) attitude towards the "German nation" and the "national cultural heritage." Although several articles refer to the "acquisition of heritage," a comprehensive historical sketch would have permitted an answer to the question of--desired and actual--development tendencies.

Of course, the dictionary cannot fulfill all wishes and expectations the preface evokes in the reader, but it does enhance considerably our knowledge of the cultural and political (as well as cultural-political) aspects of the GDR. It is less a book for cursory reference than for intensive reading or nosey scanning.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'MARX-ENGELS COMPLETE EDITION' DISCUSSED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 31 No 6,
Jun 83 pp 732-739

[Article by Hans Prien, journalist, SED Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism, 1020 East Berlin, Wilhelm Pieck Strasse 1: "Constantly Scrutinizing the MEGA Work--On the Tasks and Content of 'Marx-Engels Year Book' and 'Marx-Engels-Research Contributions'"]

[Text] "Writing lends body and voice to thought once mute,
The eloquent leaf bears it through the centuries' tides."
Friedrich Schiller, from "Der Spaziergang" (1795)

It has been a century since Karl Marx pondered his last thought. Another dozen years and we shall commemorate for the same occasion, as we commemorate him now, his friend Friedrich Engels, whose voice was extinguished in 1895.

No--not extinguished! The body and spirit of the thoughts of both, after all, live on in their writings. For more than one and a half decades, scholars in Moscow, Berlin and elsewhere have been busy publishing for the first time a complete edition in the original language, chronologically arranged and with scholarly commentaries of the works of Marx and Engels--their total literary estate.

Examining the manuscripts and printings, the works of the two, their many letters to each other and to third parties, the excerpts of books in various fields of knowledge and the marginalia--this review and evaluation of the virtually boundless material is not only a necessary premise for completing the footnotes for all the volumes--there are going to be 30 of them by 1985--but it also opens up new theoretical perspectives and the opportunity for scientific generalizations.

Previously unknown letters and articles by Marx and Engels and documents on their lives and their activity or on the historical impact of their theory are being discovered and used for the Marx-Engels Complete Edition (MEGA) by the publishing institutions, the Institutes for Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU and the SED central committees. This provides new opportunities for uncovering interconnections, specifying details, accurate dating, authorship verifications and the like. These MEGA volumes do not have space for it all, but much is worth pinning down in one form or another for the benefit of future scholarly work.

All this made it necessary to set up a publishing organ for MEGA and for Marx-Engels research in the broader sense altogether that would mainly be devoted to publishing scholarly contributions and new results in exploring topical problems in the history and theory of Marxism, which it would make available, above and beyond the narrow circle of specialists, to all who deal with the theory, practice and history of Marxism.

What then is the task of the Marx-Engels Year Book?

It is "to assist in the exploration of the theoretical legacy of the founders of Marxism and their practical revolutionary activity; it is to stimulate and take part in further research on the history of Marxism, its dissemination and ideological victory in the international workers movement, the history of the liberation struggle by the proletariat while Marx and Engels were alive" (Marx-Engels Year Book 1, preface, p 12).

The publishing organ put out under the joint editorial control of associates at the Moscow and the Berlin Institute for Marxism-Leninism greatly helps strengthen the cooperation between USSR and GDR social scientists dealing with the complete publication of the legacy of Marx and Engels. It also assists in the communication among scholars in this field in nearly 30 countries.

In line with that task, the Marx-Engels Year Book is normally subdivided into the following parts: Articles that are normally more complex in subject matter on the basis of new research data and the rubrics, "From the Work of MEGA," "Scientific Reports," "Supplements to the MEGA Volumes," "Documents and Materials" and, finally, "Reports and Reviews," supplying interesting data on the Marx-Engels edition in various countries and reviewing the MEGA volumes published thus far.

Let us turn to some substantive matters dealt with in the Year Book articles. In our era, which is ideologically reflected by the sharpest conflicts between the two antagonistic world-outlooks, they are crystallized mainly in the political articles. One topical complex in Year Book 1--published in 1978--are the "Marginalia for the Program of the German Workers Party" by Karl Marx. There Rolf Dlubek published his essay, "On the Importance of the Gotha Program for the Development of the Theory on Communist Society and Its Two Phases." He stressed the timely importance of that critique "for the strategic conception of the developed socialist society" (p 18). "The relevance of the Critique of the Gotha Program induces us," he remarked, "to ponder carefully its place in the developmental history of the theory of communist society and its two developmental phases" (*Ibid.*). How intensively the author dealt with these problems and what results he arrived at is revealed not only by the article mentioned but especially also by the monograph of Rolf Dlubek and Renate Merkel (including one chapter each by Monika Steinke and Wolfram Storch), "Marx and Engels About the Socialist and Communist Society" (1980).¹ Dlubek traces in detail the process of cognition that led to the doctrine of the two phases of communist society. His Year Book article treats, or at least touches on, fundamental problems of our times. Extremely interesting is his polemics against Wolfgang Harich's thesis of "socialism without growth," in that it shows "that the ecologically hazardous consequences of the scientific-technical

revolution have their roots, not in science and technology as such, but in the capitalist system" (p 41). This set of subjects furthermore includes an analysis by Alexander Malysch, entitled "The Dialectics of the End Goal and the Immediate Tasks of the Workers Movement in the Critique of the Gotha Program" and Lew Colman's article "The Dilemma of the Bourgeois Critics and Revisionist Interpreters of Marx' Critique of the Gotha Program."

As all volumes published thus far demonstrate, it is typical of the Year Books that they deal with highly relevant problems which are, however, in no sense merely topical in a passing sense.

That is also demonstrated by the articles on Friedrich Engels' "Anti-Duhring" in Year Book 2 (1979), again through various contributions under diverse aspects. In their article entitled "An Outstanding Work of Scientific Communism," Guenter Heyden and Friedrich Richter demonstrate the positive significance of Engels' issue-taking with the eclectic "philosopher of reality" while they engage in a polemics of principle against the theses of Karl Raimund Popper's "critical rationalism," showing that the latter's sociophilosophic views can easily be refuted by Engels' arguments against Duehring's philosophic fantasies. Taking issue with Popper, that ideologue of anticomunism, whom even social reformists swear by, the authors say this: "All of Popper's arguments against the dialectics of contradiction come down to an identification of dialectical with logical contradictions. Yet in his 'Anti-Duhring' Engels already explained that dialectical thinking does not out of itself produce contradictions but reflects the contradictions inherent in the real material developmental processes in nature and society. Solving the dialectical contradictions of the process of cognition itself requires that logical contradictions are rooted out and that formal logic is not set aside but rather that with its help, also with the help of the law on the excluded contradiction, new cognitions are gained" (pp 22 f). And in fact, the identification of logical and dialectical contradictions on which "critical rationalists" and others insist also violates the logical rule of identity which "says that two things, concepts and so forth, x and y are identical and identical only if each property of P of x also is a property of y, and vice versa."²

"The problem of the universally human and the class-bound in Marxism-Leninism" is treated by Mihail Mchedlov in this second Year Book, an essay which in the dialectics of both categories points especially to the lasting importance of Marxist-Leninist philosophic analyses. This is an idea to which we shall return when the author treats an entirely different topic in Year Book 4, the concept of civilization.

In Year Book 2, Mchedlov writes as follows: "The problem of the universally human always comes up especially when society faces the need to decide between the old, obsolete and the newly arising social order, between the two alternatives of its further development" (p 55). The success of the ideological class struggle, as the author shows, largely depends on the extent to which one class or another represents the interests or principles that are of universally human importance and have bearing on the progress of humanity (Ibid.). In an analysis of what is specific to a form of society and to the universally human it is being shown that the dialectical unity between the universally

human and socialism expresses itself not only in what socialism has in common with the previous forms of society but also in its categorical particulars even if they will get suspended in a higher phase of communist society (cf. p 58).

One also finds in the Marx-Engels Year Book 2 a study by Rolf Bauermann, "Marx' Elaboration of the View on Democracy and Dictatorship in the 1840's and early 1850's." Especially today the two categories referred to in the title mark the centerpiece of the ideological class struggle. Who would in this context forget Lenin's remark that the recognition of Marxism not only implies the recognition of the class struggle but also that of the dictatorship of the proletariat? The author intends this contribution of his on the development of Karl Marx' understanding of democracy and dictatorship mainly while the materialistic conception of history evolved and in conjunction with an analysis of the class struggles between 1848 and 1852, about which only little research had been done before. Going far beyond his subject, Bauermann presents the development of Marx' conception of democracy between 1843 and 1871 and writes: "To be sure, in 1843 Marx had already seen that the society controls the state and that the state as it existed was the political manifestation of the principle of bourgeois society, that of private property. Yet he still thought of democracy as the true state because he had not yet analyzed the class structure of bourgeois society and thus had not yet realized that each state is the power organ of the ruling class, even if only a little later he did take the first important steps in that direction in discovering the world historic role of the workers class and through his economic studies" (p 113). "The German Ideology" (also of 1845/46) already puts it like this: "that each class seeking power first must seize political power to represent its interest once again as the common interest, which it was compelled to do in the first instance."³ This follows from understanding the class character of the state: "Marx' concept of democracy, which relies on the scientific insight that each state is an organ of class rule, necessarily implies its dialectical counterpart, the dictatorship. But only later Marx introduced the expression dictatorship of the proletariat as synonymous with proletarian democracy" (p 117). In 1859 it was used, e.g., in the "Class Struggles in France."

Marx' concept of dictatorship relates not only to overthrowing the bourgeoisie and smashing its power apparatus but to the workers' class rule as such. "This revolutionary power, in the way Marx thought about it, entails a lengthy historic period of tough class struggles between the victorious proletariat in power and the overthrown bourgeoisie, in the course of which society is being transformed socialistically. This gives the lie to all those who claim, with Wolfgang Leonhard, that to Marx the dictatorship of the proletariat would be a brief period and that a different interpretation had come only from the communist ruling parties" (p 132). Rolf Bauermann arrives at the conclusion that, for Marx, the profoundly democratic character of the dictatorship of the proletariat consisted in the rule of the working classes, which inevitably would totally reorganize the state's power organs. "Marx' concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been and is the irrevocable guideline the communist and workers parties use in constructing the new socialist state power" (p 133).

In Year Book 3 (1980) a matter is treated the importance of which had already been pointed out in Rolf Dlubek's article in the first Year Book. There he

wrote: "Marx' prognosis in particular illuminates what penetrating changes are needed, for the transition toward communism, in the character of labor. In his Critique of the Gotha Program, Marx mentioned, not by chance, first and foremost among the factors leading to the higher development of the new society the elimination of the subordination of the individuals to the division of labor, the elimination of the contrasts and essential differences between physical and mental, agricultural and industrial, work, the transformation of work from merely being a means of livelihood into the first and foremost vital need and, in connection with that, the all-round development of individuals" (p 39). Now, in Year Book 3, Richard Kosolapov deals with the "Formation of the Communist Character of Labor in Real Socialism," a topic of the highest political importance because it, after all, demonstrates the superiority in principle of the new society over capitalism! The bulk of the article deals with statements on "a scientifically founded organic connection of measures for materially and morally inducing productive activity and initiative" (p 13). In the outcome of his research Kosolapov points to the tendency that more and more people realize "that labor time is divided into labor time for needs and labor time beyond needs. That is the concrete expression for the ratio between freedom and necessity as the outstanding characteristic of the first phase of communism, in the stage of developed socialism. When the second phase approaches, under the impact of the two processes colliding with each other, it will disappear: on the one side, changes in the conditions of labor and an increasing need for labor and, on the other, reduction of the socially necessary time of labor which, in its tendency, must lift the time of labor above and beyond the need" (p 23).

The emphasis of Year Book 3 lies on the history of the Communist League, dealt with in a number of articles that are introduced by one of the last studies of Sofia Leviava (who died in 1981), "The Communist League--A Stage in the Struggle by Marx and Engels for the Proletarian Party." The author points out that exploring Marx' and Engels' concept of the party is of crucial importance for clarifying, e.g., the interaction between spontaneity and consciousness in the workers movement and the leading role of the proletarian party in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Then we get biographies of League members Adolf Cluss, Carl Reese and Peter Imandt, which in an especially vivid manner, as is typical of this genre, convey insights into the history of the League. Martin Hundt, who wrote the study, "Carl Reese--A Member of the Communist League," says in his introduction that the research into and presentation of the biographies of particular members constitute one of the methodological lines for an all-inclusive history of the Communist League that still has to be written.⁴

The Marx-Engels Year Book 4 (1981) starts out with the already referred to research by Mchedlov about the "Concept of Civilization in Marxist-Leninist Theory." After stating how ambiguous the concept is, the author writes: "In modern bourgeois theories on civilization there are many nuances; as a rule, however, they keep denying the unity and forward thrust of social development and keep ignoring the dialectics between the general historical and that which is linked to the forms of society, the fact that the universally human remains preserved and develops within a cultural, social environment, the milieu creating either favorable or obstructive conditions" (p 15).

In the section "Civilization and Forms of Society" the various functions and the diverse scope of the concepts of forms of economic societies and civilization are explained. Mchedlov writes: "The concept of civilization always has an active aspect that evaluates on a comparative basis, contains a critical, polemical thrust, focuses on superiority and advantages and emphasizes the contribution a social cultural community is making to universally human values. Let us remind ourselves that the founders of Marxism used the concept of 'civilization' as the counterweight to barbarism and the French Encyclopedists, as a counterweight to medieval obscurantism; we oppose the bourgeois by the socialist civilization" (pp 31 f.).

In another section the author describes the superiority of socialist civilization as follows: "Though the countries in the socialist community have their own national, cultural and historic particulars and traditions, they still all have in common the basic and fundamental characteristics of the new type of civilization. They come to the fore in the overall nature of the socialist type of social progress--in the liberation of labor, in the fair distribution of natural wealth, in the involving of masses of millions in the management of official and public affairs, in the specifics of the new culture, in the new way of life, in the features of socialist personality. The essence of the historically new type of civilization, produced by a fundamental revolutionary transformation which has replaced spontaneous economic and social development by a conscious organization of production and of all public life, cannot be separated from the consistent implementation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism--freedom, prosperity and the all-round development of the working masses and of all members of society" (pp 39 f.).

Year Book 4 devotes several contributions to Marx' closest friend and companion, Friedrich Engels, on the occasion of his 160th birthday. Nikita Kolpinski deals with the topic "Lenin about Friedrich Engels as One of the Founders of Scientific Communism," Valeria Kunina, with "Friedrich Engels in the Struggle for a Proletarian Party in Great Britain (1871-1881)," and Boris Tartakovski, with "Friedrich Engels' Contribution to the Ideological Victory of Marxism in the International Socialist Movement (1875-1895)." Lew Goldman wrote the essay "Friedrich Engels--Critic of Bourgeois Historiography," and Valentina Smirnova wrote "Engels' Critique of Proudhon's Conceptions and His Struggle against Proudhonism in the International Workers Movement." Especially the two last mentioned articles contain a wealth of philosophically interesting aspects of the respective subjects.

In Year Book 5 (1982) the articles by Anatoli Yegorov, "The Current Era--The Era of Leninism Triumphant," and by Renate Merkel, "On the Genesis, Importance and Impact of Friedrich Engels' Essay 'The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science'" are of importance to all social science disciplines. Other studies address the historians in particular.

Of outstanding philosophic interest here is the topic "The Conception of Historic-Materialistic Determinism and Some Problems in the Theoretical Legacy of Friedrich Engels," dealt with by Vladimir Rumel. Central sections are: "The Inevitability of Social Development" and "The Objective Character of Social Development and the Role of the Subject in History." Rumel writes as follows:

"That which determines men's practical activity is objective in character also under socialism. Yet the working of laws within society cannot be examined while detached from the object-subject dialectics of social development. One may not abstract from that in socialism a new relation evolves between what objectively determines human activity and the subjective social activity of the historic subject. Whereas in presocialist societies the inevitabilities in the thrust and development of society were spontaneous, they are used consciously in socialism, and on the basis of its realization there are being formulated realizable goals and norms for human activity. Awareness for overall social action is the crucial determinant for human activity under socialist conditions, with spontaneity being restricted in time and place" (p 79).

Knowing the laws is what Ruml calls a necessary but not sufficient precondition for applying them consciously. One must also know the prerequisites of and sphere in which they work and their functioning mechanism. Not until then can the workers class, under its party's conscious leadership, work in the direction of these laws, i.e., apply them consciously.

More directly still connected with the publication of MEGA than the articles cited are the reports "From the Work of MEGA" and "Supplements to the MEGA Volumes," contained in each Year Book. These are what to an optimum degree achieve the editorial principle of completeness.

A philosopher may be especially interested in the following items: Inge Taubert: "Problems in the Philosophic Development of Karl Marx Between March 1841 and March 1843," Year Book 1; Vladimir Bruschlinski: "On the History of the Genesis and Publication of Friedrich Engels' 'Dialectics of Nature,'" Year Book 2; Galina Golovina: "The Project of the Quarterly of 1845/46," the material on the original publication plans for the manuscripts of "The German Ideology," Year Book 3, and, by a Soviet authors' collective: "On the Periodization of Karl Marx' Work on 'Capital' from 1863 to 1867" in volume 5.

At present, Year Book 6 is in the works. The bulk of it is made up of articles about Marx' drafts for "Capital." Alexander Malysch's article, "The Emergence of Marxist Political Economy in the 1840's," pays tribute to the earlier works by the classics and founders of Marxism in terms of his topic and emphasizes the significant share Friedrich Engels had in the genesis and development of the Marxist political economy. The analysis of the "Outlines of a Critique of a National Economy" by Engels, of the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" by Marx, of the "Condition of the Working Class in England" by Engels, and their joint enterprises of "The Holy Family," "The German Ideology," and finally the "Communist Manifesto" demonstrates how complicated the critical and creative appropriation of the achievements of the bourgeois political economy was and how the process got started that eventually led to the discovery of the surplus value law and to other discoveries.

Wolfgang Jahn and Dieter Noske write "On Some Aspects in the Development of Marx' Research Method of Political Economy in the London Notebooks (1859-1853)." Their study makes possible following in Marx' footsteps in tracing how he

elaborated his economic doctrine. The authors treat the relation between the research and the presentation method as a materialistic-dialectic unity. They emphasize the reciprocal explanation and interpenetration of all three components of Marxism-Leninism. The method he used for exploring and elaborating his doctrine is illuminated by examining the role played by the critique of the bourgeois economy in Marx' research, by how Marx discloses the essence of the capitalist production relations hidden behind what they appear to be, and, at last, how he rises, by means of dialectical categories, from the abstract to the concrete.

Other contributions to this economic subject matter are: Manfred Mueller: "About the Place of the Manuscript, 'On the Critique of Political Economy (1861-1863)' in Karl Marx' Economic Bequest"; Lyudmila Vasina: "Marx' Elaboration of His Monetary Theory in the London Notebooks (1850-1853); Vitali Vigodski: "The Place of the Manuscript 'Wages, Price and Profit' in Karl Marx' Economic Bequest"; Barbara Lietz: "Productive Labor and Surplus Value in the Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," and many others from the research in service to the complete edition.

The wealth of studies and their results connected with the research and edition of MEGA cannot all be handled by the annual Year Book that takes many years to prepare, for conceptual as well as technical reasons. That requires the simultaneous publication of the BEITRAEGE ZUR MARX-ENGELS-FORSCHUNG.

In contradistinction to the Year Book, that bulletin addresses above all the associates in the publishing institutions directly involved in the MEGA editing and the universities, academies and institutions collaborating with them. Through immediate and purposeful information about new research results achieved in the process that prepares the complete edition, scholarly cooperation and exchange of experience are to be fostered, debates are to be induced about substantive and methodological problems while the volumes are in process, and the results are to be made serviceable to MEGA.

The BEITRAEGE ZUR MARX-ENGELS-FORSCHUNG appear irregularly, semiannually thus far. They inform mainly on concrete research results on the history of the genesis and impact of particular works, on matters of dating and authorship verification, on problems in text reproduction and arrangement and newly found documents and materials, and on new bibliographic and biographic facts.

The Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the SED Central Committee, by means of this MEGA tool and by means of Marx-Engels research, picks up the rich experiences of the Moscow brother institute, which is publishing the WISSENSCHAFTLICHE INFORMATIONSBULLETIN DES MARX-ENGELS-SEKTORS.

The BEITRAEGE reflect the practically universal nature of the subject matters treated by the MEGA associates, in particular the inexhaustibility of their research field. Of special philosophic interest is likely to be, particularly due to the further discussions on the topic since, the "Report on the 20th Session of the Scientific Council for Marx-Engels Research in the GDR on Problems in Confronting the Bourgeois 'Marxology,'" which was published in issue number 3 of BEITRAEGE in 1978. It treats the main lines of the "coordinated ideological diversion and of the 'psychological warfare' by imperialism,"

as they had evolved by 1978. The session, as the report reveals, dealt with the lie of the threat to justify the imperialist arms buildup, with the imperialist human rights demagoguery, with the thesis of the allegedly system-conditioned economic and technological inferiority of socialism, and with the claim that contradictions exist between the interests of the communist parties in socialism and in capitalism.

The "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," as published in MEGA volume I/2, set the topic for the science colloquy on 27 April 1978, on which this issue comments as follows: "The 'Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts' attest to the not yet completed process of a new understanding of utopian socialism. That process had been significantly affected by becoming acquainted with the Paris proletariat and by dealing with the French lessons theoretically, especially with materialism and the contemporary socialism and communism in Paris. From it was derived the need for a more advanced analysis of these problems that should be as accurate as possible. Special research should be done on Marx' relations with the proletariat and the workers movement and on his study of contemporary communist literature and its critical absorption" (p 13).

Some contributions document the genesis of science studies such as, in issue number 4, the report on the 21st session of the Scientific Council for Marx-Engels research on 12 October 1978, during which discussions were held that dealt mainly with the subject matter and method of presentation of the monograph, "Marx and Engels about Socialist and Communist Society," with the reciprocal relationship between theoretical precursors and Marxism, the continuity and discontinuity in the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the unity of Marxism and Leninism, the unity and interaction between the three components of Marxism in establishing the conception on socialism and communism, and the relationship between revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.

Issue number 9 of BEITRAEGE contains the proceedings of the 25th session by the Council, conducted on 14 and 15 October 1980 as a science colloquy on the importance and impact of Engels' "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science." Renate Merkel's speech at that session served as the basis for her already mentioned article in Year Book 5.

Along with many historic subjects, the discussion also dealt with others, such as "Marx and Engels about the Economic Prerequisites for a Successful Socialist Revolution" (Rolf Bauermann) and "The Law of the Negation of the Negation in Engels' Accounting of Historic Processes" (Gerd Pawelzig). Bauermann summarized Marx' understanding of ripening material prerequisites for a socialist revolution by saying that, first, through the corporation the contradiction between socialized production and private capital is resolved--if in the limited scope of capitalism--in that capital itself assumes a social character,⁵ second, through the corporation the functions of the capital entrepreneur are split off from those of the production manager,⁶ and third, the high-grade socialization of production leads free competition ad absurdum,⁷ so that "capitalist corporations must be regarded as transitional forms from the capitalist to the associated mode of production."⁸ (pp 39 f).

A dozen issues of BEITRAEGE ZUR MARX-ENGELS-FORSCHUNG are now out. Two of them (8 and 12) contain the catalogue of books, brochures and journals lost without trace from the former SPD library. The publication of this list of desiderata directly serves to prepare the marginalia volumes in the fourth part of MEGA. The publication of the wanted list brought an encouraging response about which the preface of issue number 12 of BEITRAEGE says: "Libraries and Marx-Engels scholars from Berlin and other GDR cities, from the USSR, Prague and the FRG have already written in and given valuable advice, and in some cases the tracks have led to long lost books. For instance, in an institutional library in Berlin the last volume of Gobineau's 4-volume work, "Essai sur l'inegalite des races humaines," Paris, 1855, was located, which Marx read critically and marked up, at times using rather drastic remarks noted down on the margin. In Prague, among other things, a much wanted copy of Bakunin's speech, on the "17e anniversaire de la Revolution Polonaise," Paris, 1847, was located" (P III).

The two publication organs presented here, together with the intensive propaganda and journalistic activity carried on by the associates of the Marx-Engels department of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee, help tap the inexhaustible store of knowledge and insights through the concern for the complete works of the founders of scientific communism, making it all available to revolutionary practice both in the GDR and on the international scale.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. reviews in DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 2, 1983, pp 244 f.
2. G. Krober, in "Philosophisches Woerterbuch," ed. by G. Klaus and M. Buhr, Leipzig, 1976, Vol 2, p 543.
3. K. Marx/F. Engels, "The German Ideology," K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 2, Berlin, 1962, p 34.
4. May it be pointed out that volume 2 of "Der Bund der Kommunisten. Dokumente und Materialien" (Berlin, 1982) contains more than 100 biosketches of Communist League members in the footnotes.
5. Cf. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol III, K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 25 Berlin, 1964, p 452.
6. Ibid., p 453.
7. Ibid., p 454.
- *. Ibid., p 456.

5885
CSO: 2300/309

HUNGARY

FULL SUPPORT FOR SOVIET LINE AT BUDAPEST IPU CONFERENCE

Full Agreement

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 5 Jun 83 p 2

/Text/ Hungary was among the first nations to react to the statement by Moscow which again expressed the stand taken by the Soviet Union with respect to reducing the number of weapons and intermediate-range missiles in Europe. The same day the statement appeared, our prime minister--in his speech at the Sixth National Conference of Socialist Brigade Leaders--declared: "The statement by the government of the Soviet Union was just published today; we are in complete agreement with it. The statement repeatedly confirms that the Soviet Union wants peace and intends to negotiate but also that those obsessed with rearmament are miscalculating if they believe that they can reach their goal. The Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world are able to and have adequate means to defend the peace and save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe."

Reading these words, many people will probably ask what the complete agreement referred to means? With what is the Hungarian Government completely in agreement?

If we use news reporting methods to compare the current Soviet statement with earlier, Hungarian foreign policy manifestations, then one's eyes catch, first of all, the identical evaluation of the global policy situation. It is the opinion both in Moscow and in Budapest that the accomplishment of U.S. weapons buildup plans aimed at achieving military superiority would seriously change the European situation, would increase the nuclear opposition and would increase the risk of precipitating a war.

The Soviet and Hungarian opinions agree that there is no reason to give up the disarmament policies of the Warsaw Pact nations. Moreover, an even more resolute and consistent representation of this policy is necessary.

Indications are that the capitalist nations are unwilling to enter the path of agreements based on equal security, and Washington has decided to set up its newer missiles in Western Europe. Can the Soviet Union watch, with arms crossed, this upset in the existing balance of power?

Because Hungary also lives in a region where, as a result of the design, production and deployment of new ground, sea and air-based weapons, there is an increased threat to security, it is obvious also in Budapest that the Soviet Union is forced to take responsive measures to fortify its defense strength, for instance, by developing appropriate new strategic systems. With respect to the other type of weapons, the part of the government statement is also logical according to which "inasmuch as the U.S. and NATO decision to base the new U.S. missiles in Europe is carried out, this would force the Soviet Union to re-examine its decision of last year involving a unilateral moratorium on basing intermediate-range weapons in Europe.

Together with Soviet diplomacy, Hungarian diplomacy also exerts efforts to make the responsible factors of the capitalist world understand that it is not yet too late to halt a dangerous intensification of the situation. This necessitates that the United States and its NATO allies carefully evaluate the unavoidable consequences of basing the new U.S. missiles in Western Europe, because if they would judge the situation realistically, they would perhaps be more inclined to take an initial, most easily accomplished and, at the same time, effective step. Until an agreement is signed on decreasing both the number of atomic weapons in Europe and of strategic weapons, they would agree to a freeze on the number of weapons and to a maximum limitation of their qualitative modernization.

It is one of the most recent evidences of the openness of Hungarian diplomacy and of its readiness for initiatives, that the Fifth European Conference on Cooperation and Security of the Interparliamentary Union (IPU) was held in Budapest at the time of the Soviet Government's statement and the Hungarian response.

This was the first time such a conference was held in a Warsaw Pact country. About 200 representatives of the parliaments of 28 countries, the United States and Canada among them, participated in the conference. In his opening statement, Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidial Council, mentioned that the accomplishments of the international thaw of the late 1960's and early 1970's, which are so valuable to all of us, are in danger. It is the task of the "parliament of parliaments" to help remove the roadblocks to a further thaw.

The speech delivered at the opening session of the IPU is in complete tune with the spirit of the Soviet Government's statement and the response by the Hungarian prime minister: it reflects the deep conviction of the Hungarian Government that a limitation of weapons, especially of atomic weapons, is in the interest of every nation and state. It simultaneously reflects the expectation that the leading countries of the capitalist world will have a positive response to the sensible and logical disarmament proposals of the Soviet Government.

Concluding in Madrid

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Jun 83 p 3

/Article by Imre Tatar: "For Madrid--in Budapest"/

/Text/ The organization currently conferring in our capital could also be called an adopted child: the Fifth European Conference on Cooperation and

Security of the IPU. It is the "adopted child" of the great summit meeting 8 years ago and of the notable final communique signed there which was to strengthen and cultivate the relations between our continent and the North American states for a long, long time.

The IPU--according to the dictionary definition--is an international organization which rallies the parliamentary representatives of member countries on a voluntary basis. Its goal is to cultivate individual relationships in the spirit of peace and cooperation among nations. The individual relationship is a very important feature because the individual national member groups do not represent governments; moreover, they are composed of people belonging to various parties who voice their own personal views: conservatives, liberals, social democrats, communists. At their conferences, in general, greater understanding develops than at more official international forums. It is true that they adopt only recommendations and not resolutions with binding force. But this more relaxed atmosphere contributes to the fact that these parliamentary representatives can develop a better understanding of each other; back at home, they can judge international problems more deeply, or at least in a more multi-hued manner, when they make their position known in parliament.

With respect to the current conference, this is a special conference of the IPU, devoted to European security, more precisely to the execution of the Helsinki closing document and, consequently, also to assist the success in Madrid. By now it is the fifth of its kind and, while the IPU has about 100 member groups, 35 signatories of the Helsinki closing document received an invitation to this one, that is, those directly involved. They attended from 28 capitals, about 200 representatives of parliaments from Europe, the United States and Canada. The conference is hosted by Budapest, or rather by the Hungarian member group. It is a gladly accepted task, a privilege.

These days a dialogue is being carried out by the emissaries of those countries which decided that they will act in the spirit of Helsinki--as expressed by the temporary president of the Union in his opening statement. But another dialogue is currently being carried out, in parallel with this one, which would also require a decision: in Madrid. There, however, the dispute has lasted 3 years and still they have not come to a conclusion. Although it would be extremely useful if somewhere, at least at one forum, East-West relations would move away from the deadlock.

The mention of Madrid and of the Budapest conference both remind us of the good times when the Helsinki closing document was signed and of the subsequent steps to a peak in the thaw. The compilation and acceptance of that 100-page document was not an accident. It indicated that all 35 states were ready for cooperation, that they have basic, common interests. States with different social systems, with divergent traditions, at various levels of development can establish lasting and good relations, can complement each other and can find common norms. Since its signing in 1975, the relatively brief period affirmed this indelibly in the memory of Europe. Now, however, since the anniversary, this process has slowed and regressed, the achievements of the thaw have become endangered, tension has increased, rearmament has picked up and distrust is reigning in our hemisphere.

But another characteristic of the situation is that one agreement--speaking of the meeting in the Spanish capital--is at the threshold. It would be merely a matter of good will, of political decision. What actually is the task of the 35 delegates in Madrid? Based on the propositions of the Helsinki closing communique, the further development of European cooperation, and, above all, the strengthening of military security, economic exchange, mutual and better appreciation of our cultural values and further solution of humanitarian problems.

The draft resolution of neutral and nonaligned delegations which was accepted by the socialist delegations--although it does not fully express their viewpoint--is on the table. Let us list the authors: Austria, Cyprus, Lichtenstein, San Marino, Finland, Switzerland, Sweden and Yugoslavia. Among them there are some whose ideology ranks them among the capitalist world while others have a socialist structure. This fact contributed to their ability to compose a document with enough compromises to be acceptable by all.

Reading their plan, it becomes evident: it mentions every important problem from human rights to military thaw and trade. The Soviet Union and its allies felt that time must not be dragged out any longer and voted yes. The NATO governments, mostly under pressure from the United States, would want to have further modifications. The socialist countries went to the halfway mark, the Western countries did not as yet.

This situation is also the subject of pondering in Budapest although the participants know that the Madrid meeting is only part of the international controversies. Therefore, the comments heard in our capital encompass a broad range, including the Soviet-U.S. relationship and the matter of Euromissiles. The multifold nature of the international situation, the relationship between the various problems, is also reflected by the work of the IPU. The people sitting here are not of the same opinion. One is praising the U.S. "zero solution," another criticizes the situation in Poland: of course, the views of the Warsaw Pact are also voiced, even among some Western representatives who condemn the Atlantic standpoint. The picture is thus realistic.

However, in addition to the expression of difference, this conference is also useful for reinforcing mutual trust: everyone assumes that the other also means well even if they do not always agree with the standpoint of the one sitting next to them, but they know that the other is also sincere and is searching for a solution. Therefore, a Hungarian speaker was able to say that the mutual trust which was successfully developed in the course of the four previous conferences on European Cooperation and Security by the Union is further advanced here in Budapest.

A French guest stressed that the pessimistic mood must not be succumbed to and the discussion must center around the constructive proposals. This is the method of the Budapest conference and this ought to be endorsed elsewhere, in Madrid, Geneva and at every conference where the vital problems of a hemisphere or of mankind are indeed decided. Budapest was glad to receive its guests; it gladly contributes, in this manner also, to the good cause. It provides a place, a forum for an exchange of views which, by their example, confirm what the period of thaw in the 1970's indicated: it is possible and necessary to search for ways together.

IPU Closing Document

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Jun 83 p 3

/Text/ The fifth IPU Conference on European Security and Cooperation continued its work of committee sessions Friday in the Parliament. The three sections of the conference discussed the plans for the three main chapters in the closing document. Based on the proposals submitted, these were worked out by the editor groups during their Thursday sessions.

In Committee I of the conference, the president of the editor group, Hans Klein, the West German representative, disclosed that the editors used as a foundation the proposal by the neutral and nonaligned nations at the Madrid meeting. This was added to and modified using certain parts of the proposal by the IPU group of NATO countries and Romania and Hungary. During the session, in response to an Austrian proposal, the hope of the participants was expressed that the discussions in Vienna, to decrease armaments, will be successful. In response to a proposal by the Netherlands and Norway, a Soviet-U.S. summit meeting was urged.

Together with the modification proposals, the participants of the committee session accepted the 13-point draft resolution which, first of all, put on record the validity of the basic principles of the Helsinki closing document; it calls on the parliaments to support the convocation of a European conference on disarmament the first session of which would be organized in Stockholm; it urges a slowdown in the arms race and a successful continuation of discussions on nuclear disarmament; and it also includes the fight against terrorism.

Committee II, engaged with economic problems, accepted without debate and recommended for acceptance by the plenary session on Saturday the draft resolution of its editor group which can form the economic section of the closing document of the current IPU conference. The draft economic resolution was based on previous recommendations submitted by Hungary as well as the neutral and nonaligned nations and was supplemented by those parts of the recommendations by Romania and the NATO nations which met with agreement and also by the call issued by Cyprus concerning peace and security in the Mediterranean region.

The main points of the plan state that the resolution of political and economic hindrances to trade must be speeded up.

Committee III, dealing with humanitarian and other matters, also accepted without debate and recommended for acceptance by the plenary session the draft resolution worked out by its editors on Thursday.

The main points of the draft resolution to be submitted to today's plenary session--resembling the closing document of the Helsinki Conference--called on the governments to consider the convocation, in the not too distant future, of a conference at the level of professionals to consider human relationships. In the interest of an improved flow of information, contacts between the responsible institutions within their own countries should be encouraged; they should contribute to the cooperation between mass communication organs and by their

directives they should stimulate the dissemination of books, films and other cultural products. The plan urges that in the field of education and the sciences, they should help to arrive at agreements which could contribute to student, instructor and scholar exchanges.

Szepvolgyi Zoltan, president of the Budapest City Council, held a reception Friday evening in the Ceremonial Room of City Hall in honor of the participants of the IPU conference. The event was attended by the leading functionaries of the IPU, many members of the Hungarian Parliament and several prominent personalities in our public life.

2473
CSO: 2500/295

NEMETH CALLS FOR STRENGTHENING LEADING ROLE, UNITY OF PARTY

Budapest PARTELET No 6, Jun 83 pp 3-10

[Article by Karoly Nemeth, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee: "Timely Questions of Party Work Following the Meeting of the Central Committee"]

[Text] The April session of the Central Committee comprehensively summarized the most important political experience since the 12th party congress. After carefully reviewing the facts, the Central Committee was able to establish that we had been working successfully to implement the congress resolutions, and significant results had been achieved in building socialism, even under the more difficult external and domestic conditions. Essentially we have successfully achieved the two fundamental political objectives of the congress: to proceed toward restoration of economic equilibrium, and to preserve on the scale of entire society the attained standard of living.

Our successes can be attributed primarily to the fact that also in this period the party has pursued the general policy that has proven viable and remained unchanged nearly 26 years. The party has remained consistently true to the basic principle to base its policy not on wishes and aspirations, but on careful consideration of the facts of reality. We have taken care to see the situation not as we would like it to appear, but in its reality and with all its contradictions, and we have sought on this basis answers to the questions awaiting solution. This is why we have been able to continuously perceive the changes that have taken place in recent years and--no use denying--have changed not the most favorably the conditions for building socialism. Although we were aware already 3 years ago that hard times were coming, in many respects the extent of the unfavorable changes has surpassed our expectations.

After carefully analyzing the present situation, the latest session of the Central Committee provided an answer to a question causing wide concern: Will we be able to realize even under the altered conditions the principal objectives set by the 12th party congress? The Central Committee adopted the unambiguous standpoint that the conditions existed enabling us to proceed further along the road designated by the congress. But if we are to do so, it is indispensable that we make a greater effort than up to now to improve the quality of our work, and that we uncover and mobilize more effectively all our existing reserves.

We must think through in agreement with the policy objectives approved by the Central Committee also the tasks in conjunction with the party's life and work.

As also the Central Committee's resolution points out, one of the most essential lessons is the following: "A basic prerequisite for the party's successful activity is to strengthen the party's, ideological, political, organization and action unity." The MSZMP has been able to master situations even more difficult than the present one because it has always succeeded in reaching a consensus regarding the fundamental tasks. The fact that we basically viewed unanimously both the evolving situation and the political tasks stemming from it has played a significant role also in the developments in recent years. In these years we have been forced to adopt several measures that required certain sacrifices of entire society or certain strata. These measures met with the population's understanding because the Communists, led by their sense of responsibility, supported these measures. In recent years it has again been demonstrated that we can rely even in more difficult situations on the party membership's political maturity and ideological commitment.

It is indisputable that these years also the party membership's political integrity and unity are being put to greater test. Doubts intensify, debates are more frequent, political and ideological uncertainty is more pronounced. Therefore we must devote closer attention to the conditions that ensure party unity.

As first and foremost among these conditions we should mention that we must not allow ourselves to be deflected either left or right from our general policy. It is our historical experience that political sensitivity on both fronts is always essential to preserve the party's correct Marxist-Leninist policy. We must bear this in mind also now because we encounter phenomena indicating conservatism and rigid adherence to the accustomed, and also "new" ideas are being voiced that are not adequately substantiated and occasionally question even our basic principles. The party organizations and the managing party organs must devote closer attention to these phenomena. They must aid and propose that the various views be voiced before party forums, and even clash if necessary. As a result there can develop standpoints that the party members are able to support with conviction.

We must regard as a natural phenomenon that in the course of our work debates are in progress on individual questions of building socialism--regarding the assessment of the situation as well as the direction of further progress--in which different modes of solution are formulated. Without this it would be impossible to reach the optimal decision. But we must see to it that these debates remain within the framework of Marxism-Leninism, that the real needs and possibilities are taken suitably into consideration, and that the general interests of socialist development are borne in mind when the various interests are being considered. Ensuring that debate retains this nature places great responsibility on the entire party and every member. On the one hand, due attention must be paid to constructive and well-intentioned raising of issues, because occasionally one encounters a certain intolerance and refusal to consider new questions. It may also happen that in some persons, due to their inadequate training, the old ideological formulas become rigid dogmas, and from the very outset they treat any new ideas with suspicion. It is not superfluous to call attention to this today, because occasionally ideas that advance party policy and the cause of socialism encounter many obstacles since they willy-nilly question certain positions and standpoints.

On the other hand it should also be emphasized that in every case careful deliberation is necessary of the comments' reality and political expediency. Sometimes it is necessary to carefully weigh even ideas that might seem entirely logical, because the objective and subjective conditions for their realization might be lacking or cannot be ensured within the foreseeable future. Thus two-front sensitivity must not be regarded as some abstract slogan that is voiced independently of time and space; rather we must assert it on the basis of evaluating specific phenomena and issues. So far we have not been attaching derogatory labels to anyone, and we wish to avoid doing so also in the future. However, we cannot relinquish the right to defend and represent in every respect our principles and Marxist-Leninist standpoints.

We must take into account that the new questions of development are engaging the interest of not only the party, but of society's wider circles as well. We regard this as favorable because the party would be unable to reach the right conclusions without taking into account the experience and views of the many millions of workers. Specifically for this reason, party members must be present wherever social questions and politics are being discussed or debated. They must head such exchanges of views, openly supporting the party's policy and standpoints of principle, which they must uphold everywhere and at all times. They must be perceptive to new issues and accept warranted criticism and comments with suitable self-criticism.

The present situation demands that we devote closer attention to strengthening party unity, discipline, and the Communists' integrity and sense of responsibility. What is the situation in this respect in our country? As Comrade Kadar pointed out in his report at the session of the Central Committee, everything is basically in order within the party, the principles and norms governing the party's internal life apply, and the overwhelming majority of the Communist are honestly fulfilling their assumed duties and are serving the public interest with dedication. Lately, however, some party members seem to be lacking political commitment, while others appear to be fence-sitting. In other words, there are some indications that party unity is weakening. Therefore we must state that in the present situation we need greater political unity, and our policy and principles must be upheld more decisively. We must not spare time and energy, but must do everything possible to develop unity time and again, from the Central Committee down to the local organizations, in conjunction with the new tasks. This work must be done also now, after the session of the Central Committee. This is the basis for making even closer our existing relations with the masses.

Within our party there are many forums before which everyone can express his doubts and his differing or conflicting opinion. Therefore it is justifiable to demand that party members express their views and voice their concerns before these forums, and that the clarification of the questions also take place there. This is a part of adherence to party principles, of the basic rules of party life. It cannot be tolerated that party members express in other circles their differing views on questions that have already been decided in debate on policy, before the party forums. Closer attention must be devoted at every level to such phenomena. The orderly nature of the party's internal life and the principle of democratic centralism ensure the necessary conditions for this.

Every party organ and local organization have their tasks in conjunction with strengthening party unity. Here again the Central Committee is unable to give detailed instructions. The party organizations themselves must assess, with great circumspection and adherence to principles, what ideological and political trends they encounter within their own areas, what has to be strengthened, and what has to be opposed. They themselves must elaborate and decide what instruments and forms of propaganda, of ideological and political education, and of organizational methods if necessary, can be used the most effectively.

Party unity based on firm principles is an important prerequisite for asserting the party's leading role. The Central Committee reviewed also from this point of view the experience of years past. On the basis of practical facts it established that our party was fulfilling its leading role and was providing policy guidance for society's development and the construction of socialism. The party had been able to adjust to the changing conditions and to win the confidence and support of the masses for its policy.

Seeing the problems and tensions, some people now question whether the party is asserting its leading role. One encounters the simplistic view that if the work of construction is proceeding smoothly and without tension, then the party is asserting its leading role; but if one sees phenomena of the opposite sign, then this can be traced back to the weakness or absence of the party's leading role. However, things are by no means so simple. No matter how significant a factor in society's life the party is, its activity and possibilities are necessarily defined by the domestic and external conditions in the given period of building socialism. Naturally, also the party itself is shaping these conditions, and much depends on how it utilizes under the given conditions the opportunities for action to influence the social processes and to counterbalance the negative trends. However, this does not alter the fundamental fact that under no circumstances can the party be independent of the objective factors, and that it can offset their negative effects only within the occasionally narrow limits of the existing possibilities.

On the basis of this conception it is possible to answer correctly the question as to whether the party is fulfilling its role in leading society; in other words, whether it is able to use its opportunities for action under the given conditions. In retrospect we can safely say that we have done everything we could. This is reflected in our political program that outlines the principal course of action in modernizing the economy, in perfecting the social conditions and in intensifying socialist democracy. The party not only outlined the course of action, but it was also able to arouse the people's willingness to take action, their initiative.

These experiences attest to the decisive significance of the party's leading role. This has to be pointed out also because lately there have again surfaced views to the effect that question or even directly deny the need for the party's leading role. Although in most cases these views are not formulated and expressed openly and directly, these ideas too can be found behind many proposals that sound original. I believe that it is essential for us to strengthen our political sensitivity in this respect, because this is a fundamental question of building socialism. One of the most important lessons of our own work, and of the entire international working-class movement as well, is that the party's leading role is indispensable to the construction of socialism.

When we emphasize this, it is not our intention to demand and secure certain privileges for party members. Realization of party policy, which expresses also the party's leading role, serves the good of our entire people, the most fundamental interests of the working masses. The way we see it is that the party's leading role must be based on sound policy and conviction. We believe it is of fundamental importance that the masses understand, accept and support our objectives. This does not take place automatically. We must work consistently to achieve this, in every area of society's life. Thus we emphasize that the fundamental essence of party work is to continuously ensure wide social identification with our policy. This is what every party organization must primarily strive for, with all its strength. This is their most important task, and not the assumption of the public-administration, institutional and economic managers' tasks and responsibilities. It is a mistake to assume that the party must decide every question in the various spheres of life, and that the task of the other social or state organs and institutions is merely implementation.

On the whole the party organizations and managing party organs are correctly interpreting and performing their tasks in conjunction with the party's leading role. In the areas within their jurisdiction they are directing the work politically and are concentrating their efforts on the realization of party policy. The adoption of this style of work received a new boost from the fact that after the 12th party congress every party organ and organization reviewed the most important questions of their work methods. In the course of this we emphasized that the political-movement nature of party work had to be strengthened in every area. We called attention to the fact that the party organizations must analyze from a political viewpoint the social phenomena and processes, on which they must adopt policy standpoints, and must organize the practical implementation of these standpoints and the mobilization of the workers. They must not act in place of the economic and public-administration managers even if things are not going the way they should; instead they must prompt, encourage and help the managers to identify their tasks and perform their duties.

Strengthening the political nature of party work requires that the local party organizations and the managing party organs systematically concern themselves with the living and working conditions of the social groups, strata and individuals on their territory, and with whatever affects these conditions. They must seek the means and possibilities to satisfy justifiable and realistic demands. They must use their authority to ensure that the state and social organs concerned understand the political significance of satisfying such demands. This kind of work style provides the basis of party work's political-movement nature, and it broadens and intensifies the party membership's active participation. Numerous examples prove that there are great reserves in the exploitation of local resources. Also in this area our party organizations must act more boldly and show more initiative. This gains special significance from the fact that today political public life has perked up, and there are more opportunities for the further development of social activity. The party organizations must take this into account and make their work more open and more lively, in order to provide more room for initiative in public life.

The labor-movement nature of party work can be strengthened also if at every level of party life and management we include the party membership more often in the debate on more significant questions that are awaiting solution. Our organizational life, the relations within the party, should be developed more forcefully to ensure the party membership's more active participation not only in the implementation of policy, but in the elaboration of our decisions as well.

Under the present circumstances the strengthening of party work's political-movement nature also requires that the party organizations be more active in the area of forming public opinion and ideological awareness. We see daily that people are keenly interested in world and domestic events, for which they are seeking explanations. They discuss these events at work and among friends. The party organizations are not always keeping pace with this increased political interest; occasionally they are not attributing sufficient importance to the tasks stemming from this increased interest, and they are giving preference to other forms of action that seem more spectacular. In the present situation it is essential that the party organizations fulfill their mission also in this area, for this is the Communists' most important task within the political movement.

There is still much to be done to consistently implement our resolutions regarding the improvement of our style of work and work methods. Perfunctory elements still remain the dominant in party work at many places. In many party organizations there is too much emphasis on programs. And we have not been able to reduce as yet the number of meetings to a sensible level, for they absorb an enormous amount of time and energy. The agendas of the party organs' meetings often include items whose deliberation is warranted more by custom than by the needs of real life. The party organs are often requested unnecessarily to send representatives to meetings held by other organs, even when the topics of such meetings are not related to everyday party work. Instead of a deeper and broader presentation of the political interrelations, we often are satisfied with a mere briefing on the facts and decisions. And we could go on listing those perfunctory features of our work that unalterably exist, even though we decided time and again to eliminate them. The indications are that habit has proved to be a strong force in this respect, therefore we must combat it more forcefully. Another resolution of the Central Committee is not necessary to do so, because in this area it is the right and duty of every party organization to act independently and with responsibility. Naturally, much depends on the managing party organs. If they issue too many unnecessary instructions, if they assign to the local party organizations too many tasks with which the latter are unable to cope, then they are inadvertently diverting the local party organizations from lively activity within the political movement. Such phenomena usually indicate that some party committees have been unable to meaningfully change their work methods, that they are exercising close tutelage of the local organizations, instead of urging and helping them to work independently and develop their initiative.

Development of the style of work and work methods is closely related to asserting more effectively the party's leading role. It is appropriate for the party to view the most critically the shortcomings in its own work. This is a prerequisite for the party's ability to successfully fulfill its historical mission, its role of leading society.

We ourselves must eliminate the shortcomings in our work so as not to provide grounds for anyone to question, with reference to these shortcomings, the party's leading role in either the economy or in other areas of society's life. We cannot agree with the views lacking reality that demand of the party and state the "evacuation" of this or that sphere of society's life. In our opinion, the presence and leading role of the party in every area of society's life are a prerequisite for the successful construction of socialism. Under our conditions, every social activity necessarily has a certain political nature. It is essential that the party politically direct, control and aid the positive unfolding

of the processes, that it use its influence to ensure the realization of its policy in every area, and that it oppose with determination the phenomena and aspirations that violate the interests of society.

The present tasks require more than ever before that we strengthen the widest possible social collaboration, the joint thinking and action of the Communists and nonpartisans. The most important at present is that the masses understand our policy, objectives and aspirations. We must frankly present--more consistently than we have done in the past--the peculiarities and requirements of the present situation. In the spirit of the Central Committee's standpoint, we must offer a perspective and call the masses to struggle for the successful solution of our tasks.

In this the party is relying on each and every one of its members. This is work that requires firm political conviction, awareness and--let me add--also faith. Not much is being said about faith these days, yet faith based on conviction that our cause is just remains even today an important factor and essential condition of the realization of our objectives. Such faith can inspire even today to greater effort, which unquestionably is necessary to preserve our achievements that are impressive even by international standards, and to create the basis for our faster development in the future.

The personal example and integrity of the Communists are a decisive factor in preserving and further strengthening trust in the party's policy. This trust must be renewed daily, and deserved time and again. And here the behavior of the Communists and the unity of their words and deeds play a very great role. We cannot tolerate any manifestation that might undermine even the least bit the trust of the masses.

This must be mentioned because also the negative phenomena are occasionally reborn. We must not allow the lessons to be forgotten that our party drew from the events of the 1956 counterrevolution, and which it constantly bore in mind during the past quarter century or more. No party member may ever forget that the mission of the Communists is to serve, and not to command. The membership card and party office do not mean more privilege, but greater responsibility and more duties. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that some party leaders do not take the opinion of their environment into consideration, and regard themselves as infallible and above others. Our people recognize and appreciate the conscientious and dedicated work and behavior that are characteristic of most party leaders. The more deplorable that occasionally one can find party leaders who are depleting and not adding to the moral capital accumulated through dedicated service and work. Misuse of power, retaliation for criticism, corruption, and unprincipled influence deeply violate the party's moral code and understandably arouse also public opinion. They cast our political public life and social system in an unfavorable light and weaken our ties with the masses. Therefore we must oppose such phenomena with greater determination. It is true even today that no enemy can cause the party as much harm as the abuse of power and trust.

The party's purity and the defense of its moral code demand that anyone unable or unwilling to meet the requirements must not be a member of the party; who is unable to subordinate his personal interests to the interests of the community must not be a party leader, not even in the lowest post. Now when we are demanding of everyone disciplined work of good quality, the spotlight is focused

even more sharply on the conduct of party leaders. Therefore it is essential that all the various posts be filled by party members and nonpartisans who are politically and professionally qualified, are able to manage, and meet the moral requirements in every respect. Persons who serve the public interest with dedication, heed the views of their fellow workers, observe and demand discipline, show initiative and are consistent. It must be admitted that at present not every manager meets these requirements. Therefore we must solve deliberately, but at a faster rate than up to now, the cadre problems that are ripe for solution.

Our present tasks require strengthening the party also in other ways. Here I have in mind primarily the ensuring of replacements for the party, the admission of new members. The Central Committee found that the party's social composition and the level of the party membership's political and general education were on the whole satisfactory. The work of recruiting new members has its established system and methods that basically need not be changed.

However, attention should be called to some problems. One such problem is that the party organizations are not devoting sufficient attention to training qualified young people to become party members. Party-building work is equally unsatisfactory among young workers, university students and secondary-school students. Turning the situation around could depend, among other things, on strengthening the political-movement nature of party work, because thereby the party organizations would have greater appeal for young people eager to be active in public affairs.

We must bar also from recruitment work the perfunctory and bureaucratic methods. Here I have in mind primarily the phenomena that we customarily condemn as remnants of the so-called statistical approach. Some party organizations are attempting to ensure by administrative means a suitable proportion of blue-collar workers among the newly admitted members. Naturally, the proportion of blue-collar workers within the party has always been an important political issue. But at the same time we must not reject or delay, for statistical reasons, the application of any intellectual or member of some other stratum who otherwise is qualified for admission. The party needs to constantly replenish its ranks with people committed to the cause of socialism and politically active. We must regard this as an important component and constant requirement of the party's ability to renew itself.

At its April session the Central Committee reviewed the internal life of the party and the assertion of its leading role, in close connection with the political tasks awaiting us. In recent decades our party has solved a good many tasks that were by no means easy ones. Experience shows that the more difficult situations always inspired the party members to greater effort, releasing new energies. Also on this occasion the realistic assessment of the present situation and tasks will most certainly inspire the party's organizations and members to continue with active optimism their work for the further realization of the objectives set by the 12th party congress.

POLAND

PROVINCIAL AKTIV ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Walbrzych Politicoeconomic Aktiv Meeting

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 12 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by dt: "Conference at Walbrzych; Reserves and Restraints"]

[Text] Yesterday 11 April a conference was presided over by Jozef Nowak, first secretary of the Provincial Committee of the United Polish Workers Party, involving the provincial politicoeconomic aktiv from industrial enterprises, construction, transportation--for the purpose of discussing commitments emerging from antiinflationary and conservative governmental programs.

In his introductory remarks, Jerzy Byj, Provincial Committee [KW] secretary, recalled the results of the Walbrzych economy achieved last year and in the 1st quarter of this year. Despite difficult determinants in many subsectors, positive trends became apparent. Industrial production in the 1st quarter was higher than the corresponding period last year by 9 percent; in construction by 29 percent--310 living quarters more being committed to use; the hard coal mining plan was surpassed by 9,000 tons, with a total supply of close to 632,000 tons.

However, wages continue to grow faster than productivity (for example, in industry they increased by 14.2 percent), while material supplies increased by 32 percent, and 33.5 million unworked work hours were recorded. At the same time--he recalled vice-governor Marian Golenia in his address--for each person in search of employment there are 155 jobs available. Thus the necessity for a rational cadre economy with priority provisions for construction.

The main assumption of credit policy, Bernard Stezala, director of a branch of the National Bank of Poland [NBP], stated during the discussion, is the drive for equilibrium in the individual sectors of the economy, taming of inflation, inducing enterprises to a greater commitment of their own resources in financing current endeavors, as well as a considerable portion of development needs. Uneconomical units in the economy forfeit credit status.

The representatives of manufacturing plants, construction, transportation are in agreement that an increase in production and improvement in its rhythm most effectively counteract inflation. For a conservative economy, enterprises should be motivated by economic incentives and not by appeals or campaigns. Detailed measures should assure the financing of current needs, but also the restoration of fixed assets. At present it does not always happen that way. A series of proposals and critical observations were advanced regarding these questions, as well as central material distribution. Accordingly, we shall return to this subject in a short while.

For today it is important--as Jozef Nowak emphasized at the conclusion of the conference--to efficiently unite the needs of individual enterprises and community groups with the needs of the national economy.

Poznan Aktiv Meeting with M. Milewski

Poznan GAZETA POZNZNSKA in Polish 12 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by KM: "Miroslaw Milewski in Poznan; The Party Needs Action not Words"]

[Text] Yesterday, Miroslaw Milewski, a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee [CC PZPR], spent some time in Poznan. During the morning hours he met with the political activ of the province, the secretaries of basic echelons and the managers of the Regional Council of College of Engineering. Stanislaw Kalkus, a member of the CC PZPR Politburo was present, as were prof Tadeusz Cwojdrak, chairman of the People's Provincial Council [WRN] and Col Zdzislaw Stocki, commander of the Provincial Civic Militia in Poznan. First secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] in Poznan, Brig Gen Edward Lukasik, presided.

Participating in the meeting were supporters who, during moments of most difficult trials for party and state, distinguished themselves by exceptional commitment and devotion to the cause of socialism in the past and in recent times. For this attitude and zeal to voluntarily work and defend the socialist state and its achievements, Jan Mielcarek, KW PZPR secretary in Poznan, conveyed expressions of great appreciation and gratitude on behalf of the provincial party echelon.

The most distinguished activists received the following awards: "For Service in Defense of Public Order;" "For Service in the Development of the Poznan Province"; and honorary awards of the city of Poznan, as well as honorary diplomas from the PZPR Provincial Committee.

In his address, Miroslaw Milewski discussed the chief factors of the current sociopolitical position. A series of signs and trends exist that demonstrate normalization and stabilization of national life, consolidation of the labor rhythm and better production. The sanctions of the western nations did not succeed in hindering trends emanating from

the strength and desires of the people. However, the national situation continues to require active, committed postures which are likewise linked with grand Polish models of people known to "be able to manage better than others." This challenge refers especially to party members. Defense of the marxist-leninist party line, the struggle for a genuine return to the leninist norm of party life does not require the preaching of appropriate mottoes today, but rather active, preserving attainment of public support for the party program. This support is growing as is evident, among other things, in the development of union and self governing structures, as well as units of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

While discussing the most important commitments in party work, the Central Committee secretary mentioned, among other things, constant resistance to occurrences of social pathology, as well as definite opposition to all attempts to return to compromised systems of work, evident again with some people who are responsible for the function of party units and the state. A guarantee of the immutability of the marxist-leninist party line is the rebirth of its labor bloc, the strengthening of the working class character of the PZPR. There are consistently more workers among those joining the party.

During the afternoon, Miroslaw Milewski met with the sociopolitical aktiv from cities and districts included in the campaign of the Regional Center for Party Work in Szamotuly. Present also were: Stanislaw Kalkus, a member of CC PZPR Political Bureau; Edward Lukasik, first secretary KW PZPR in Poznan; Jan Mielcarek, KW secretary.

Following a presentation of the fundamental directions of party work by Stanislawa Stanislawiak, director of the Regional Council of the Engineering College of Poznan [ROPP], a lively debate followed. It became a review of issues and problems that the residents of cities and communities of the Szamotuly region--Kazmierz, Chrypsko Wielkie, Obrzycko and Ostrorog live with.

Representatives of various communities and social organizations spoke about contemporary patriotism, education of the young generation, strengthening Polish-Soviet friendship about problems of order and law and order.

One of the chief lines of debate was the issue of further strengthening of the party, its ideological and organizational unity and authority in society. The achievement of these goals depends upon the attitude of every party member and the activity of every basic organization. Attention was likewise focused on the urgent necessity to resort to the tradition of honest work, whose example should be given by people occupying responsible positions, especially in those institutions and bureaus directly involved in serving the public.

In discussing the problems which the country is experiencing, it was stressed that in the heat of criticizing, one cannot disregard the undeniable accomplishments of People's Poland, also evident in comprehensive transformations of the Szamotuly territory, in the life of its residents.

Miroslaw Milewski, CC secretary, likewise took the floor and paid lofty tribute to the accomplishments and attitude of the public in the cities and communities of the Szamotuly region; he addressed himself to some of the problems brought up in the debates and discussed the most significant aspects of current sociopolitical conditions.

Elblag Party-Economic Aktiv Meeting

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 13 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Provincial Conference of the Party-Economic Aktiv at Elblag; Austerity, a Condition of Curing the Economy and Improving the Level of Public Life"]

[Text] Yesterday, a provincial conference of the party-economic aktiv took place in Elblag, presided over by Jerzy Prusiecki, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Provincial Committee. Courses of action were discussed with a view toward implementing governmental programs: conservative and anti-inflationary. Members of the KW PZPR Secretariat participated in the conferences, as well as secretaries of local and factory party echelons and the managing aktiv of the larger basic party organization's [POP] leading production plants, chairmen of labor and plant councils and representatives of scientific-technological associations. Participants were: Stefan Walter, a member of the PZPR Central Committee and an employee at Elblag's Zamech; Krzysztof Sobczak and Kazimierz Wierzbicki, CC representatives; Ryszard Buchowiecki, vice-minister of Mining and Energy; Ryszard Wodzislawski, secretary, Provincial Committee of the United Peasants Party [WK ZSL]; Ryszard Szkolnicki, chairman of the Provincial Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]; Ryszard Swiecicki, chairman of the People's Provincial Council, as well as Governor Col Ryszard Urlinski.

This conference initiated a broad campaign in Elblag Province with the intention of limiting inflationary forces and introducing the habit of conserving--a condition for increasing production and upgrading the level of public life.

Tadeusz Oska, secretary of the KW PZPR, in his address stated, among other things, that an all important party task at present is the most rapid achievement of a general understanding of the goals and circumstances of anti-inflationary endeavors. In the national economy we have two possibilities: embark on a path of gradual improvement in market conditions, or their further deterioration. We must do everything to make the most of the first possibility. The greatest inflationary threats lie in manufacturing plants, which fail to reduce manufacturing

costs and who attempt to pass on the prime cost of their own uneconomical management to the consumer in the form of increased prices. Of special significance are the anti-inflationary and conservation efforts directed at those factors of production that carry the greatest cost, that is, raw and other materials, energy, fuel, quality of goods, as well as the degree of profitability from fixed assets, hours of employment and manpower. In all these fields there exist considerable reserves, as in the Elblag economy. This not only pertains to manufacturing plants, but likewise to the entire sphere of public service. In the current year, the program of austerity and anti-inflationary endeavors will rank as the leading subject in the work of the Elblag provincial party organization and all its units.

Next, the vice-governor, Jozef Sowa, presented an analysis of economic conditions in Elblag Province and also tasks dealing with conservation endeavors and the reduction of production costs, as well as the taming of inflationary trends.

During the debate, Zamech director, Kazimierz Pniewski, advised that this, the largest plant in Elblag Province, achieved successful and economical production results last year. Results of the 1st quarter of this year are also profitable. However, there is an expanding deficit in employment, with the occurrence of material problems and also increased absenteeism. The austerity program, which is presently being studied in the plant, takes on special significance in connection with this.

Jan Plasun, director of the Nogat Agricultural Syndicate, stated that conservation is now a vital necessity. In agriculture--in harvesting agricultural products, transportation, processing and storage, losses sometimes amount to 30 percent. A portion of these losses also burdens the State Farms [PGR]. These are the reserves which should be gradually released. Reform in the Nogat Syndicate, in the beginning brought about an outright spontaneous hiring of workforces, which is, however, weaker now. The chief conservation offensive should be directed at energy carriers, rational utilization of the means of production, control of fodder, as well as spare parts.

Jerzy Woloncewicz, chairman of the Labor Council for Plants in the name of the Great Proletariat, stated among other things that in the mechanics of reform there is a lack of factors influencing the tendency to improve the construction and technology of products.

Ryszard Szkolnicki, chairman of PRON Provincial Council [RW], mentioned among other items, that the provincial assembly of that movement, in its resolutions, stressed the urgency for improving salvage and use of reclaimed raw material and the prevention of waste in construction.

Jerzy Bartnicki, chairman Labor Council at Cellulose in Kwidry provided information concerning austerity and anti-inflationary undertaking in this the most recent industrial plant in Elblag.

Vice-minister Ryszard Buchowiecki stressed the anti-inflationary and conservative efforts currently undertaken as an unprecedented political campaign in our country. We must win it if we do not desire to plunge into yet deeper crisis. The most valuable is energy which we will succeed in conserving.

Jerzy Prusiecki, first secretary KW PZPR, referring recently to frequent statements that a lack of motivation can be detected for better conservation of work, stated that it is not wise to award a bonus for every brick saved or piece of sheet metal. We must strengthen in ourselves the awareness that the effect of joint endeavors in this field will be beneficial to the country, and therefore, to each of us. The reliance of our economy on sound principles should be our common aspiration and ambition.

Nowy Sacz, Tarnow Aktiv Meetings

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 15 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by K. Bryndza: "Provincial Conferences of the Labor Aktiv; Nowy Sacz: No Food, Clothing, Shoes, Housing Without Intelligent Work"]

[Text] A provincial conference of the labor aktiv went into session yesterday at Nowy Sacz attended by 300 invited workers, foremen and party-economic supporters. Among the arrivals were: members of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers Party Executive Board and Jozef Brozek, first secretary of the KW, who presided over the entire conclave; Jozef Oleksy, office manager of the PZPR Central Committee Council; Edward Nowak, secretary of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasants Party; Tadeusz Prokopczuk, Chairman Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party; Stanislaw Jez, deputy military commissioner; Lt Col Jan Turek, chairman of the Temporary Provincial Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival. Ludwik Kaminski, KW secretary, upon opening the debate expressed a series of critical appraisals of the facts in the province. For there can be no concessions as to waste of raw materials, shoddy goods, spontaneous price movements, swindle in the distribution of merchandise and black market traffic. The generally positive economic relations which have been consistently observed for 6 months do not cloud these events. It is necessary to urgently examine the cost of living and to face the truth that wages continue to outperform labor productivity, and on the other hand, to concern oneself with greater care about working conditions and the travel involved in getting there. Nor can one excuse the abuse of social blessings, and one should terminate the lack of any discipline whatsoever. In 1982, for every 160,000 professional employees in this province, one could add a second month of vacation, due to absence in the employment plant. The good days are coming to an end for the artful dodgers and pretenders, and for schemers who accepted quite a good grosz for shoddy work, because they knew how to fake in a sick economic system. For reform is not a perfunctory endeavor in which mediocrity stays on top. The rising trade unions are a factor stabilizing the life of the workforce.

The address of the Nowy Sacz governor, Antoni Raczka, was devoted to a discussion of the 3-year stabilization plan whose draft was studied following a deep analysis of the present provincial economic conditions. Production results from recent months are more profitable, but we are far from expectations and actual possibilities. The extensive cadre movement must be disturbing, as well as negotiations for employees. And already saddening are the signs of mismanagement. We squander time, money, materials. Those more affluent than we, are more frugal and, therefore, live better.

To what extent does the mentality of the labor force undergo change in reform and the first versions of the programs bring definite results? The debate brought answers to those questions. Yes, prudent efforts are not in vain. A change in the system of allocating bonuses in the Temporary Committee of the National Union [ZNTK] already bears fruit with a reduction in absenteeism, which was referred to by Zbigniew Mordawski. Engineers from transporta.t.on, the oil industry, foundry presented quite substantial proposals for the conservation of energy, materials and labor-intensiveness. In the National Union of the Socialist Party [NZPS], "Podhale," at Nowy Targ thought was devoted to replacing French imported silica with postfilled dust, which will represent many millions in savings, as mentioned by Jan Kusiak. At the Clothing Cooperative in Nowy Targ, by conserving raw materials, they went so far that they mastered the art of sewing sleeves from 32 pieces of scrap. "But more control comes to us than to the representatives in authority," with a word of praise--Alicja Chrobak complained. At the Glinik Drilling and Mining Machinery Factory in Gorlice, and Jerzy Czajaj the builder mentioned this; they figured that in the process of production they use tens of thousands of metallurgical materials and several kilometers of steel pipes. If 1 percent of these materials could be saved, every worker would earn 1,000 zlotys more. And this is entirely possible. There were other examples of economical management that are already beginning to bear fruit: as in Stolbud in Grzybow, which Antoni Baran referred to; at the Lososina Wooden Industry Enterprises, on whose behalf Walenty Wilkos appeared; or at the Lesno Department of Transportation in Stary Sacz (Antoni Pierzchala spoke). Hence, negotiations are good. It is important for such practices to become daily bread, and not stalled in the complications of administrative decisions, which Jozef Oleksy warned against as he entered the debate. In his closing comments, Jozef Brozek stated that the debate is still in progress: "It is not in this auditorium but in the plants, on the job, that the most important decisions will take place, deciding the success of the reform and whether we shall overcome poverty and when," he remarked. This opinion represented the closing accent of the conference.

Tarnow: Austerity Program Should Become a Daily Practice in Every Plant

The essentials of the anti-inflationary and austerity programs, as well as the commitments stemming from them were the subject for discussion by the politicoeconomic aktiv of Tarnow Province which took place yesterday at Tarnow. The following took part in a meeting conducted by Stanislaw Opalka, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and first

secretary of the Provincial Committee of the United Polish Workers Party; Stanislaw Gebala, manager of the economic Division of the Party's Central Committee; Stanislaw Klos, vice-minister of chemistry and light industry; Stanislaw Nowak, Tarnow governor; Col Adam Szegidewicz, commissioner-plenipotentiary.

Jerzy Sobecki, KW PZPR secretary in Tarnow, opened the debate with a report in which he described economic conditions in the province in 1982 and the 1st quarter of this year. There is much to indicate--he stated--that we are approaching a period of making up for arrears which is evidenced by a gradual improvement in production results. However, in the opinion of the speaker, low labor discipline, excessive use of materials and energy, mismanagement, lack of coordination in endeavors are a serious impediment. Therefore, austerity programs should also be prepared in employment plants as soon as possible, which should be consistently applied in practice.

The debate began in reliance on the issues presented in the report. Tadeusz Para, director of the Tamel electric motor factory in Tarnow stated: "The present austerity program is going considerably further than before. We have adopted the principle that the wage fund cannot exceed the value of production. In enterprise, groups striving to find the most effective solutions have been appointed." Jan Golemo, director of Tarnow fruit-vegetable processing plants: "Losses are still too large, for example, in transportation, resulting from damage or theft. The next source of conservation is the proper management of secondary raw materials and the intelligent use of fuel. This disturbs me that imported products are appearing here, while domestic producers are in a position to satisfy the market. Thus it is with some products." Stanislaw Kanior, secretary of the Provincial Division of the Chief Technical Organization [NOT] in Rarnow: "Austerity is related to technological progress and this cannot be treated by the work force as another labor problem. We should conserve, but one should likewise consider the consequences that this can have on the quality of products."

Andrzej Tarnowski, director of Debica's Stomil auto tire plants: "About 40 percent of our input comes from imports, with half coming from the second payment area [capitalist countries]. We strive to limit imports wherever possible, for example, by substituting synthetic for natural rubber. We are also seeking conservation in reducing the use of raw materials and energy, in improving the employment structure and in decreasing fluctuation in the work force." Ferdynand Golemo, a member of the Coordinating Council of the Polish Economic Society circles [PTE] in Tarnow: "A similar program was prepared in the past. It is important that it is not consigned to the shelf with the others. Such a step would simply be economic suicide. An important matter is the elimination of unnecessary labor and respect for one's own work and that of others. Austerity should also be sought in the full utilization of working hours." Jerzy Pyzikowski, principal director of the nitric plants in Tarnow: "The reform gave us an opportunity to finance work which can bring conservation. Even the smallest figured in terms of zlotys per ton of manufactured fertilizer amounts to a considerable sum which can decide the results on a national scale."

Tadeusz Kobylec, director of the provincial branch of the National Bank of Poland in Tarnow: "Anti-inflationary and austerity programs are strictly associated with the credit policy of banks that presently profess the principle of tight money. This means that units which do not attain desired economic results cannot rely on credit. It must be remembered that the programs which we debate are to support reform but not replace it."

Furthermore, during the debate attention was turned to the necessity of treating the programs mentioned as permanent solutions and not emergency actions.

Stanislaw Gebala presented the agenda of programs in the broadest economic context of the 3-year plan. He turned attention to the necessity of undertaking anti-import action on which alleviation of the tight balance of payments depends. He mentioned the reserves inherent in the organization of labor and the system of employment. The introduction of anti-inflationary and austerity programs--he stated--is threatened by many factors, but at the present moment the adoption of these actions is necessary.

Stanislaw Opalko, summarizing, stated that anti-inflationary and austerity undertakings are a basic element for economic stability and the easing of economic problems. This program--he remarked--is our civic obligation and an awareness of that fact should reach the workforce and every labor post.

Prior to the conference, Stanislaw Gebala met with politicoeconomic aktiv from the local salt mines at Bochnia. Economic problems and social matters pertaining to the workforce were discussed.

Bydgoszcz Aktiv Meeting with Mokrzyszczak

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 15 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by TOM: "Polish State Railway [PKP] Aktiv Conference at Bydgoszcz With the Participation of Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Deputy Member of the Political Office of the CC PZPR and CC Secretary; Authority of the Railwayman's Professiona Must Regain Sccial Rank"]

[Text] In the entire country a debate on ways to overcome the national crisis are being carried on. We are concerned about the study of those forms of professional and social action that will lead to the defeat of occurring hardships in a moderately rapid and genuine fashion. In this debate, there is likewise no lack of comment from the railroad work force. Mobilization of employees to implement the tasks confronting railwaymen; systematic growth of the socioprofessional activity of railroaders official discipline; as well as a public opinion survey of government programs, anti-inflationary and austerity--these problems were the subject of provincial discussion of the party aktiv of the railwaymen's community which took place at Bydgoszcz yesterday. Participating in it were 200 persons of the party aktiv representing linear units and railway technological facility centers.

The following participated in the conference which was presided over by Waldemar Wanecki, first secretary of the Railway Union of the PZPR Main Bydgoszcz Junction; Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, deputy member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary; Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee; Janusz Glowacki and Zbigniew Palczewski, vice-ministers of transportation; as well as Bogdan Krolewski, governor of Bydgoszcz.

Debate of participants in the conference centered around problems confronting the community of railwaymen of Bydgoszcz Province which were presented by Ryszard Bandoszek, KW PZPR secretary and Waldemar Wanecki, first secretary of the Railway Union of the Main Bydgoszcz Junction. The specificity of the railway community expresses itself with discipline in work, conscientiousness and an honest approach to the practiced profession. From these values there flow many duties that should become priorities in the work of railwaymen. Of prime importance here, is conscious participation in the program of overcoming the national crisis. Without greater labor productivity, intensification of endeavors for austerity purposes, without better organization of the production process, one cannot bank on raising the country from the economic pit. The railroad is presently undergoing reorganization in the structural sphere. This fact should be taken into account when solving essential problems plaguing that sector of transportation. Therefore, the following are of special significance for the railroads: reconstruction of transportation facilities; development of the technological base and the industry's rolling stock, or the retention and attraction of a highly qualified cadre. In the implementation of these pursuits there should be no lack of party members and candidates. The obligation of becoming acquainted with the problems of their workforces, and the transferral of managerial effectiveness of plant programs to all labor positions rests on sectional party organizations. The struggle for the success of our economy is just beginning.

During the debate attention was also devoted to methods and possibilities for increasing production efforts in the situation of supply barriers and the shortage of labor personnel. There is only one way--it was admitted--to determine the better use of raw and other materials, as well as energy: greater discipline in the manufacturing process, elimination of indications of waste, and also more courageous use of our own technological thought that covers the inventive and rationalization movement. It is not permissible for party members, as one of the debaters said, to become inactive. The party organization should constitute a leading force in the plant, propelling the economic mechanism. There are as yet too many departments in the railway centers where there are no party members and where their constructive efforts are not visible.

Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, CC PZPR secretary, took the floor and stated that the railwaymen's community often demonstrated its civic and fully generous and disciplined posture. Presently a strengthening in discipline is expected from railwaymen because in recent years it has been shaken. This had an effect on decreasing the public's opinion of the railwayman's

professional rank. Incidents of mismanagement, breach of law and order on the railroad by its employees are not the best evidence at present of the attitude of this professional group. None other indeed than party members should denounce the passive relationship with labor, eliminate and oppose all negative indicators. Only then will the restoration of the authority of the railway profession become possible. In closing, the speaker advised that the PKP Main Bydgoszcz Junction, on the motion of the KW PZPR secretariat in Bydgoszcz, became the resolution of the CC PZPR secretariat coopted by a group of plants located under the special care of party authorities.

Yesterday's meeting was preceded by workshops in labor posts in the area of linear units and plants with a technological base. At the PKP Main Bydgoszcz Junction, the following were present: Slodzimierz Makrzyszczak, deputy member of the Politburo and CC secretary; Henryk Bednarski, first secretary KW PZPR; Edward Molik, deputy governor; and Dominik Adamek, chief director of the Northern Regional Directorate of the National Railway in Gdansk.

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CSO: 2600/807

PROVINCIAL WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES NOTED

Assessment of Workers' Self-Government Program

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 25 May 83 p 3

[Article by Lucjan Pracki]

[Text] A struggle continues for the renewal of the workers' self-government and its actual participation in the management of an enterprise. Recently, the Sejm Commission for the Affairs of Self-Government reviewed the situation in this area at its second meeting with the activists of the workers' councils. A lot has changed for the better since last September. Out of 6500 enterprises eligible for the establishment of self-governments 5900 have established them already, while at the end of 1982 their number was only 2090. Thus, progress is visible, although the meeting participants were warned against "statistical optimism." The fact of the existence of a workers' council does not always mean that the self-government functions properly. It indicates, however, a new phase in its development--a phase of practical activity.

This process is not devoid of obstacles and difficulties, which have various roots. The self-government tradition, which was born in enterprises in 1956 has gotten deeply ingrained in the crews' consciousness as a systemic law. This is a big plus and advantage in the struggle for the restoration of workers' councils. But along with positive experiences the crews remember numerous abuses and failures. In the 1960s self-government was dominated by the trade unions, and in 1970s it became subordinated to the enterprise management. With the advent of the 1980s self-government went in a totally different direction. Accepting the concept of the "Self-governing Commonwealth," the newly elected workers' councils found themselves under the overpowering influence of the Solidarity leadership and were to serve its confrontational purposes.

The resulting wrongs and terminological confusion have survived until this day. Some crews are distrustful of the self-government institution itself as they fear that it will be subordinated again to some other body. This distrust is being intensified due to the fact that the reactivation of workers' councils takes place in a period of particular legal regulations, introduced for the duration of the martial law. On the other hand, there

are proponents of the view that in self-governing enterprises the workers' council can do whatever it wishes and does not need to tailor its bylaws and activities to the requirements of the bill, that is the law. Accordingly, any changes are being viewed as an attempt on self-government rather than a means to cure it.

Among these two extreme positions there is a variety of situations and intermediate views. All of them testify to the confusion among some crew and workers' councils as well as to inadequate knowledge of regulations. For the bill gives to self-government rights, which it did not have and which allow it to really participate in the management of an enterprise. And the economic reform, in turn, makes self-government a basic element of changes in the system of management and administration. While it is true that there is a long way from regulations to practice, but that is an entirely different problem. In any case, there is a field for activity.

Legal constraints concern only two important issues: (a) the list of 1400 enterprise in which the management establishes the self-government founding bodies; and (b) the right of the management to suspend self-government when it violates the legal order and acts against the interests of the society (so far this right has been used only once by the authorities). These constraints do not make self-government powerless in practice--as the critics of the regulations claim--considering the fact that all other particulars of the bill retain their power.

It seems that the majority of the workers' councils are aware of that and despite various obstacles and they continue their activities, which serve well the idea of utilization of the reserves of efficient management. The main problem lies in reaching the rest of the workers' councils with this truth. But even those which started on the right track, need in many instances assistance from the voivodship consultative teams as well as from the party organizations.

The enterprise administration, which in recent years got used to exclusive management, is not in a hurry to accept the self-government as a partner. It pushes self-government's interests away from major problems and toward marginal activities of the enterprise as well as it denies the necessary information to the self-government, etc., despite the fact that the bill on self-government applies to the directors also. They often are party members, which makes it mandatory for them to support self-government. The major problem common to all workers' councils is difficulty to grasp the mechanisms of reform and the ways to utilize them. Of great value to them can be the proposal of the Citizen's Committee for National Rebirth at the main office of the Polish National Bank [NBP]. It has been established that the inspectors of NBP branches who cooperate with individual enterprises and who are very well acquainted with their economic and financial situations may provide the workers' councils with all necessary information, advice, and opinions. It will be worthwhile to explore the means of utilization of this priceless source of knowledge and inspiration.

The growth of self-government is not just a concern of the crews and workers' councils. It is a matter of execution of the systemic principle of socialism in building of which the working class plays a leading role. This is also a matter of overcoming the crisis and of the success of economic reform, which cannot succeed without the utilization of the collective wisdom of workers and their self-government's support. This is, our common cause.

Revival of Self-Government

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 26 May 83 p 3

[Article by Jozef Woldan]

[Text] Initially self-government was supposed to play an important role in organizing the agricultural circles' cooperative [SKR] since SKRs were being established by agricultural circles as their own cooperatives and the SKR councils were to watch the adherence to bylaws and that the cooperatives serve the farmers particularly in the area of mechanic services. With the years, however, the self-government idea and practice were steadily disappearing from SKRs. Instead a variety of production, agricultural, and cattle breeding enterprises began to appear often under the government sponsorship.

Farmers' interest, mechanization services, equipment servicing, chemical services, all of them were written into SKR activity schedules, but the land from the Joint Farms [ZGR], own cattle breeding facilities and various other production enterprises were gaining in importance. Sometimes a Sieradz SKR would do something for a coal mine in Silesia, or a Piotrkow SKR would participate in the construction of Northern Port. Often SKRs worked with industry--most often with heavy industry--because it was profitable, while the farmers' needs were becoming marginal interests of these enterprises, which were supposed to have an agricultural profile by design.

That situation undermined the role of SKR councils. Their audit and incentive functions were becoming increasingly limited and finally reduced to a mere formality. Naturally, this was not true of all SKRs. There were some councils, which had an important voice in their SKRs. There were SKRs, which never departed from their statutory aims and which considered as their most important tasks providing services to farmers, fulfilling farmers' needs for mechanization, equipment servicing, and chemical services.

The years for "storm and pressure" did not strengthen the SKRs nationwide. On the contrary, quite common were voices, instigated mostly by all kinds of advisers from the Rural Solidarity, which were in favor of liquidating the SKRs altogether as well as distributing the available equipment and land among farmers. However, most of the villages, which had used the SKR services felt threatened by such suggestions. For with the liquidation of SKRs rich owners of tractors and machinery would impose their own service charges. So, the KSRs have survived.

And now it is necessary to sort of "build the into" the system of reviving rural self-government. The task is clear: SKRs are enterprises of agricultural circles. They are to serve farmers. In the Piotrkow region the election meetings in agricultural ural housewife's circles [KGW], convened before the conferences of gmina delegates and elections of officers of gmina unions of agricultural circles and organizations, are followed by open reports-elections conventions of delegates from agricultural circles and KGSSs from entire gminas. These conferences either approve or disapprove SKR Boards, elect new SKR supervisory councils, and approve the plans of activity and growth of their cooperatives.

One such convention convened recently in Belchatow. This is one of the bigger cooperatives in the Piotrkow voivodship. All agricultural circles in the gmina, all 40 of them, joined the cooperative. There were supposed to be 120 delegatss at the convention, but only 84--or 75 percent-- came. Thus, the convention had the power to pass resolutions and make decisions.

In the report, presented by Marian Stawski, SKR president, everything was well. The cooperative had achieved more than 10 million zlotys surplus in 1982. Services charges were moderately raised, so the delegates praised the president and the SKR Board; activities of both were approved and they were wished continued success in the future.

The SKR in Belchatow consiste of the following enterprises: mechanical and chemical; transport; service; construction; and ZGR. Tractors--99 in total--worked 1550 hours per year each; rotating mowers 2332 hours; grain combines--1495; binders--1475; and sprayers--3655. One can go on with the list of equipment used through the SKR.

Moreover, the Mechanization Plant carried out soil tarnishing on its own fields, amounting to nearly 43 ha, using peat from the Belchatow peat mine (approximately, 500 cu m of peat per 1 ha of recultivated soil). This process significantly enriches poor SKR soil (338 ha of cultivated land of class V and VI). And possibly because of this recultivation (approximately, 250,000 zlotys from the recultivation fund per 1 ha in terms of a surcharge) the Mechanization Plant made a profit of nearly 9 million zlotys. That is why the service charge in Belchatow was only moderately increased.

The transport and service enterprise made pfofit as well; the latter one mainly due to the work of teams cleaning fuel tanks and installing and servicing fuel distributors both in the SKR and other enterprises.

Is this good or bad? During the discussion nobody criticized work bringing profit. One would be surprised if it was otherwise. The enrichment of soil with peat is very desirable and needed. Neither would I criticize the installment of distributors and fuel tank cleaning. After all, somebody must do these things, and if the SKR Board looks for additional profits without doing it at the expense if its obligations toward the farmers, God be with them. It is always better to make a profit than to take a loss.

But the Belchatow SKR had its losses also. One of them was the small construction outfit; mainly because there was not enough building materials and it was impossible to continue projects, which had been already started and which were needed in SKR, e.g. construction of technical support center. ZGR lost 2,269,000 zlotys last year.

There were various reasons responsible for that loss. However, the main one was the reclamation of 51 ha in Bukowa which had been turned over to SKR and which were in a very poor condition and requiring repeated tilling and clearing off bushes and stones. SKR has poor fields, divided into many small plots, which are dispersed all over gmina. Farmers do not want these fields even for free. And yet they produced last year 139 tons of grain, 1028 hogs, which were sold to the state, and 434 piglets and hogs for farmers to use for breeding purposes. Thus, the land, which were it not for ZGR would have been a wasteland, produced harvest, and the people employed at ZGR have no reason to be ashamed of their work.

This is also how the SKR activities were viewed by the farmers present at the meeting. In other words, no critical voices against a cooperative were heard. Although...

Tadeusz Ruszczynski from Augustynow demanded that many more lime sprayers for cow barns be purchased, because one is not enough for 2000 cow barns. The problem lies not only in the sprayers. There is not enough lime. The cooperative had ordered 20 tons, but only 5 were allotted. Therefore, the cow barns of the greatest milk suppliers are limed first.

All demanded acquiring smaller pullers for potato spraying, because the C-360s destroy one row during each run. SKR was criticized for selling Orkan, but it worked 5 hours only last year. Does it pay, then, to keep such silocombine and pay for its upkeep. SKR is ready to buy Orkan or a similar machine when the need for such equipment arises.

Jadwiga Wojciechowska from Grocholice suggested that acquiring and sale of chicks be accompanied by distribution of feed for them by SKR. This would be a great help, because the Rural Commune Cooperative Store [GS] do not always have the feed, and yet the chicks must eat right away.

Many comments at the meeting were directed at industry, trade, and cooperative sector. There are now chains, and yet cows must be put out to grass (at a market in Piotrkow one can get a chain on the side, but it costs 800 zlotys). There is no special fabric for milk straining ("I wanted to purchase diapers," says Maria Spiecha from Podwody Village, but I had to show my baby's health registration book. Where am I going to get the baby?").

There were complaints that SKR does not have enough excavating machines and binders. Therefore, support was given to the planned purchase of 8 excavating machines, 4 mowers, and 4 binders. There were complaints that the dairy puts too much butter in the milk cans after milk deliveries. ("What

do I need 1 kg of butter for," stated Waclaw Zawisza from Wielopole, "it would be better to sell it in the city to people without ration coupons. After all, I am not going to sell it myself.")

Then the Supervisory Council was elected. By secret ballot, of course. It is composed of 35 members. Almost every agricultural circle has its representative in that self-governing body. Also, delegates were elected to the gmina and voivodship agricultural circles' conferences. Both were carried out democratically and in accordance with the bylaws.

When listening to the speeches one had the impression that it was the managers and cowoners of the cooperative talking. That was true when they talked about prices, and when they were approving of profitable activities, or when they talked about agricultural production and soil enrichment, and about acquiring chicks and about purchase of necessary equipment. The meeting testifies in some way to the revival of rural self-government. Perhaps with some resistance and hesitantly, nevertheless the farmers begin to feel managers in their own cooperative. And primarily that is why the meeting was a symptom of changes taking place in people's attitudes and in another attempt to make the agricultural circles' cooperatives real cooperatives, and not because of the high profits in Belchatow.

Self-Government in Factories

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 27 May 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Chrobot]

[Text] When in mid-August last year a decision was made to revive self-government not many enterprises took advantage of it. Many directors used to one-man rule did not want to consult their decisions. In the Kamienna Iron Foundry and Enameling Plant in Skarzysko self-government was established at the initiative of the director and the basic party organization [POP] Executive Committee as early as September 1982. The employees' council, headed by Jerzy Gruszczynski, was not changed and remained the same as in 1981, when it had been elected. In December 1982 the only thing that was done was the election of delegates to the general meeting.

While in many enterprises employees' self-government is toddling along the one in the Kamienna foundry has already had its first experiences in joint management. Although there is a bill, which clearly defines the place, tasks, and role of the employees' self-government in the enterprise in order to make the situation less confusing the Kamienna self-government began its activity by drafting bylaws. What have the documents accomplished? Did the enterprise begin to function better?

"The bylaws allow the representatives of the crew to express their opinions on all major matters concerning the enterprise," stated Andrzej Krzysztofik, foreman at the Enameling Department and member of the employees' council.

And specifically?

"Last year for the first time employees shared the profits. The rules, passed later at the general meeting, prevented future dissension and grudges. Did the crew deserve that additional money? We had fulfilled the quantitative production plan, the quality of bathtubs and kitchen sinks improved, and during the entire year we were lowering prices of our products. Besides the monetary awards were not high."

"Nobody can accuse us of wanting to 'consume' our profit. We think ahead. A part of the profit, 10.5 million zlotys to be exact, was used for the further growth of the enterprise," stated Jerzy Wojtachnio, vice chairman of the employees' council. "The foundry is old. We need modernization, new investments, and new machines and equipment to replace the old ones. A part of that amount will be spent on improvement of safety and health conditions in the cleaning department. There working conditions are the hardest due to a high concentration of dust."

The cost-accounting plan of the enterprise for 1983 was another issue discussed at several meetings of the employees' council. The discussion was not limited to comments and corrections, but focused on a program, which would guarantee the fulfillment of production tasks. An urgent matter was the need to change the motivational system of pay in order to stop the leaving of skilled employees. First decisions were made carefully and prudently to fit the situation. Self-government utilized also other broad authorities. One of them is influencing the personnel policy. As Jerzy Wojtachnio stated: "The bylaws state that the candidates for the positions of deputy director, department head, and chief specialist must be approved by the employees' self-government."

Did you have an opportunity to use that authority?

"Yes, when the chief of energy had to be replaced."

Comanagement in the enterprise must be learned by all employees, including the directors. Naturally, that does not mean mutual admiration of the other's decisions. The first months of activity also disproved the prediction of a possible conflict between the self-governments and the directors. In the Skarzysko foundry the employees' council does not have any particular or exorbitant ambitions. During discussions, often difficult, it tries to find a joint but better solutions.

As Edward Szyszka stated: "The management in the enterprise is not longer a one-man rule. All important decisions and comments by the management are submitted to us either for comments, or for approval, or for out information. Our cooperation with the director is good. We try to complement each other. There has been no instance of the director making a decision against the wish of the employees' council. Also our decisions have been executed. Our commissions take care of that. Recently, we were consulted by the foundry management on its saving and anti-inflation programs." What kind of consultations were they? Did it mean a quiet approval or your part?

"Each of us received the materials and therefore was able to express his own opinion, and thus add or pass over an issue. Savings were discussed at the party and department meetings. We do not want fiction. Neither are we afraid of sharing the responsibility for the enterprise and for making sometimes unpopular decisions. For example, at a recent meeting the self-government passed a resolution to correct the production plan for 1983. It called for increasing production by 5000 of kitchen sinks."

How was this decision received by the crew? According to Eugeniusz Jaroc from the Toolmaking Department and member of the employees' council: "There were no protests. It was accepted as possible to accomplish, particularly that a new production line, created internally, was being opened at the foundry. The remaining problem to be solved is the transfer and training of needed personnel."

The work at the Casting Department has generated the most controversy. The employees' council paid a lot attention to it before the establishment of trade unions. There are some snags, such as hard positions, which are harmful to one's health. These are at the Molding, Cleaning, and Enameling Departments, where the temperature in the furnace exceeds 120°F. Until recently pay rates in these departments did not differ much from the pay received by the so called auxiliary employees. Hence, personnel turnover and deficiencies in filling vacancies in production. The employees' council decided that the molders, enamel painters, and grinders must be paid much more. As a result of pay adjustment their pay was increased by approximately 4000 zlotys.

The self-government in the Casting Department has been building up its authority by making wise decisions. "This is exemplified by the fact," stated Andrzej Krzysztofik, "that none of our decision has been overruled so far. There were instances, however, that as a result of joint discussions the administration of the enterprise changed its decisions. After our interventions the remuneration guidelines concerning effective utilization of the working hours was modified and made more demanding."

Wieslaw Bodzenta, general manager, is not complaining that his authority is being limited. He says: "Self-government is my strong partner. It is not easy to convince it of something; I must have arguments. However, without self-government's approval it would not be possible to win support of the crew for joint decisions. Besides, the skill to come to terms with self-government establishes the authority of the general manager among the employees."

There are only a few examples like that. Self-governments in many enterprises are still in their trial and error period, because not everybody likes to take a stand. This is the source of many anomalies also in the economic and management spheres of the enterprise.

Workers' Self-Government Statute

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 30 May 83 p 4

[Article by Zenon Mlyncky]

[Text] Is it necessary to cite article 5 of the constitution in the statute of the self-government of employees of a state enterprise?

No, it is not necessary, or even desirable.

Article 5 of the constitution of the Polish People's Republic states: "The Polish People's Republic: (1) protects and develops socialist achievements of the Polish working people in towns and villages as well as their rule and freedom; (2) assures citizens' participation in governing and supports the development of various forms of self-government of the working people; (3) develops production forces and the state economy through planned utilization and enrichment of its material resources, proper management, and continuous development of science and technology; (4) strengthens communal property as the main basis of the economic strength of the country and prosperity of the nation; (5) enforces principles of social justice, eradicates exploitation of man by man, and acts against violations of social coexistence; (6) creates conditions for continuous growth of prosperity and gradual eradication of differences between the city and the village, and between blue collar and white collar work; (7) out of concern for the nation's growth, it provides protection and care for the family, motherhood and upbringing of the young generation; (8) provides health care for the society; (9) develops education and makes it universally accessible; and (10) secures universal growth in science and national culture."

As it can be seen, the wording of this constitutional writing goes far beyond the problem of the employees' self-government. Citing this norm in the self-government statute would not show any logical connection. The regulation cited above defines the functions of the state and not those of the self-government. It is the article 13 of the constitution, however, which directly concerns the employees' self-government and whose the second sentence reads as follows: "The crews of enterprises participate in the management of the enterprises." This constitutional norm was further developed in the bill on the self-government of the crew of a state enterprise. The bill defines, among others, what the self-government statute ought to and may contain, but it does not in any way require the statute to contain a declaration that the self-government has its foundation in the constitution. The bill's silence in this regard is caused by conditions, which are not taken into consideration by some activists of the employees' self-government. Specifically, the employees' self-government is an organizational structure which exists and can function only within the framework of an enterprise, of which it is an integral part, and the organs of self-government are at the same time the organs of an enterprise (see article 31 of the bill on state enterprises).

If we consider this close relationship between the self-government and the enterprise, it becomes obvious that the self-government cannot violate the constitutional order by its statutory activity, because this would mean that a state enterprise functions in violation of the constitution. And this is a contradiction in itself, because such a state enterprise cannot exist. That is why placing in the employees' self-government statute declarative statements about respect for the principles of the constitution (why only for some principles and not for all?) is not only unnecessary, but purposeless as well. In my opinion it is also undesirable, for such a declaration would indirectly suggest an alternative--either in accordance or in violation of the constitution--which in the case of the employees' self-government cannot be considered even theoretically.

Self-Government for Common Good

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 6 Jun 83 p 3

[Interview with Jasef Czyrek, Politburo member, by Halina Bykowska]

[Text] "The party considers an active and equipped with broad authorities employees' self-government an important element of the economic reform under way. We want the self-government to offer every worker an opportunity to really influence the organization and the course of production processes as well as the results of his work and the means of their distribution." This statement was made by Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member, secretary of PZPR Central Committee [CC PZPR], at the 12th CC PZPR plenary meeting.

In many units of socialized economy of the Gdansk Voivodship the employees' self-governments have already begun their activity and in a few there have just been revived. Recently, self-government has been established at the Gdansk Port Administration [ZPG]. We discussed problems created by this fact with Wojciech Przewieda, first secretary, PZPR Enterprise Committee [KZ PZPR] at ZPG.

[Question] Enterprise party organizations and enterprise administrations have an obligation to create atmosphere for the revival of union and self-government activities. At ZPG there has been a trade union for quite a while. However, there were problems with the revival of self-government. What kind of problems were they?

[Answer] They were of formal and legal nature. Elections to the employees' self-government at ZPG had taken place before the martial law was declared. With the imposition of martial law the activities of self-government were suspended. The issue of elections was revived again only after the martial law had been suspended. After careful analysis of the bill on self-governments of state enterprise crews, we were not sure if the earlier elections had been carried out in accordance with existing regulations. With the approval of delegates, elected in the previous elections, we contacted the Sejm Commission for the Affairs of Employees' Self-Governments and requested its opinion on this issue. The Commission unanimously decided that the results of the previous elections are void, because they were not conducted in accordance with the regulations.

We were aware of the fact that this decision could have provoked distrust among some of the crew members. We decided, however, that the issue of the reactivation of self-government could not be postponed any longer. During meetings of crews in various regions and ZPG organizational cells members of the election commission were elected; they drafted election rules, divided the enterprise into election districts, and got involved in many other matters of organizational and technical nature. In the meantime, KZ PZPR carried out a broad propaganda campaign focusing on reasons for voiding the results of the previous election.

[Question] What was the reaction of the crew on the need to call new elections?

[Answer] Initially with suspicion, but the KZ's explanation action brought anticipated results, because the election campaign begun on 23 April 1983, was carried out in accordance with the law. Elected were delegates to general crew meeting as well as the Employees' Council. Naturally, the elections were not smooth everywhere. In some organizational cells they were met with indifference. Nevertheless, the fact that the election process was completed testifies to the growing sociopolitical normalization at ZPG.

I wish to add that the general meeting of the crew was convened on 31 May 1983. It approved the election. The same day the Employees' Council elected its presidium.

[Question] What is the composition of the Employees' Council?

[Answer] Kazimierz Lepiekjo, deputy manager of shipments for Region III, member of Democratic Party [SD], was elected its chairman; Zbigniew Sikorski, manager of railroad shipments for Region IV, PZPR member--deputy chairman; Danuta Klosinska, economic section manager for Region III, nonparty--secretary. In my opinion the composition of delegates to the general meeting of the crew reflected all professions, age groups, and socio-political affiliations.

[Question] In many Gdansk enterprises employees' councils have been active for nearly one year. ZPG until recently had managed without a self-government organ. A question arises, then, is self-government really necessary at ZPG?

[Answer] It is improper to view the problem this way. The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic has Socioeconomic Council as an indispensable evaluation-consultative organ. The employees' council is an indispensable organ, which plays a similar role in the enterprise. Let us not forget that many duties and authorities of the self-government have been taken over by the enterprise administration and party organization. KZ PZPR have taken care of many matters requiring consultation with the crew. These duties and other ones will be taken over by the Employees' Council in accordance with Article 24 of the bill on self-government. This does not mean that party members will withdraw from self-government.

[Question] Comrade, are you at all concerned about too extensive involvement of party members in self-government?

[Answer] The same kind of concern may apply to the union activities. I wish to emphasize that the intervention in the union and self-government affairs has never been and will ever be the aim of the enterprise party organization. However, we will continue to exert influence--naturally in the positive sense--on the activities of the employees' council through our members active in that organ and who are obligated to act in accordance with party decisions.

After the elections to the employees' council the enterprise party organization declared this willingness to cooperate with the council in the name of common good. After all, it is the goal, which is important: the good of the enterprise, the country, and all of us. I believe that the more heads we have to do the thinking the better. In other words, the more people will ponder concrete problems the better will be the results for our economy.

[Question] Comrade, how do you view the role of self-government at ZPG?

[Answer] The division of authorities and duties is clear. Trade unions concern themselves with the benefits and living conditions of the employees, while self-government--the economic sphere of the enterprise's activities, such as directions of development, approval of production plans, investment decisions, and profit distribution. I consider the following matters as the most important for the self-government to concern itself with at ZPG: rebuilding of the infrastructure; solution of the problem of machinery supplies; and enterprise housing construction.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/987

PROVINCIAL BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS' ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Workers' Comments on Reform

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 1-2 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by (rz): "Workers' Comments on Reform. What To Improve, What To Change?"]

[TExt] Polish Press Agency [PAP] reporters visited some industrial plants recently and asked the workers what they thought about the reform, how they saw its implementation and the efficiency of the new economic mechanisms, what further improvements and corrections were necessary in their opinion.

Close to 500 workers answered the above questions. Most of them supported the reform, associating with it the hope of breaking out of the crisis.

"The Directions of the Economic Reform" passed during the 9th Congress of PZPR have to be implemented persistently and to the very end; without the reform our economic situation would be much worse; only the reform can guarantee getting out of the crisis--such were the most frequent comments.

The increase in the enterprise independence was considered to be positive. It was reflected in the free choice of the production assortment, in setting the price on the base of the real production cost and in undertaking many small investments that aimed at the improvement of the production efficiency. The introduction of the principle of the reward system based on the workers' wage increase and depending on the increase in the work efficiency was also favorable. The introduction of the piecework wage system in some plants, changes made in the enterprises' motivation system and organizational structures were also positive.

The significance of the self-management principle, which was accepted by the reform, was strongly emphasized, however, certain irregularities were pointed out in this area.

For example Robert Balbus from the Dolna Odra electric plant in the province of Szczecin stated: "We do not understand why in the Ministry of Coal Mining and Fuel Economy the self-managements are to be established in the regions where there are several electric plants and not directly in the plants where they would be much more needed."

Workers' comments did not lack criticism. Some expressed doubts as for the future of the reform. Five workers from the Bialystok Fasty Cotton Textile Factory stated that they did not see the implementation of the reform in their factory nor its effects. In their opinion, the administration in the plant was still excessively developed, with much red tape and outdated regulations. One of the workers said that the administrative and directive restrictions, only partially justified by the present transitional period, are most dangerous for the reform.

Many workers criticized the decision on the significant increase of the wage fund in the enterprises which marked the production increase in the second half of 1982 in comparison with the first half. This way the plants which had less production or less efficient operations were later rewarded. In view of that, negative effect of the unstable economy were pointed out. The improvements made during this year and the decisions that constantly changed disorganize the production. They also make impossible to implement the agreed upon plans of action.

Many remarks dealt with the wage system. Majority of the workers spoke against the uniformization of wages and stressed the necessity of close correlation between the wages, any production increases, between the wages and the increase of efficiency and the quality of production. "Equal pay," said Jozef Wolejko from Polska Welna in Zielona Gora, "Does not create stimuli for better work. The effects of better work should be rewarded above all."

This opinion was prevailing in all the comments. True enough, the danger of creating "excessive disbursement of wages" was pointed out, but it was added at the same time, that there should be no obstacles so that the worker who works better earned more than the rest, even more than those who belong to the same wage group. Attention was also drawn to the fact of limited flexibility of the wage system and the necessity of strengthening of the financial position of the foreman. The need to create stronger wage motivation system for the sake of the production quality the implementation of the economizing goals, and burdening of the enterprise with excessive sums of money going to the treasury were also discussed.

All the comments were collected within the framework of POP poll and will be sent to the office of the government plenipotentiary to the matters of the economic reform.

Conditions of Work Market

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 7 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Ewa Ostrowska "Work Market. Who is Guilty? The Retired, of Course"]

[Excerpts] There is still a demand in the job market for almost a quarter of a million workers. Who needs them? Almost everybody. At least such are the results of the enterprises' offers. It is worthwhile to compare the numbers with the demographic forecast. The next 3 years will bring in an influx of new workers to the job market--close to 1,640,000--they will in principle balance the loss in the working force of--close to 1,530,000. Hence, the necessity of economizing in the area of straight forward reproduction of the workforce.

Each enterprise was supposed, according to its own interest, (and the social interest as well) to employ only a number of workers which would be indispensable in their production processes. The economic reform was supposed to create such a job market. The time of the first general report on the implementation of the reform arrived. (The Sejm is getting ready for such a project). As far as the employment is concerned the situation is rather worse than better.

Because of several reasons at least.

First, the objective reality appeared to be stronger than the mechanisms of the reform thought out in the offices. This reality is based on the deep economic crisis, disturbing the functioning of the supply system, cooperation and the deliveries of the spare parts. What were the enterprises supposed to do in such a situation? What could they do? What did they have to do? In one word, how did they react? Unambiguously. They held on to their employees--waiting for the better times. The situation continues. How much of an ordinary situation is there in it? How much of it serves the purpose of securing the interests of the production of the enterprise, the enterprise itself and its employees.

In the areas of major shortages in the working force the structural shifts are the only chance (so-called the restructuring of the employment). That means transfer of the employees to places where they are most needed, where there is a possibility and social necessity of a rapid production increases, consequently it will result in the production efficiency. Lowering of the production cost and the increase in the real wages would be the final results.

Taking into the consideration such necessities, dependencies and such goals, can we persistently call for more and more hands to work (not thinking that according to the demographic forecast it is in vain anyhow).

Is restructuring an easy process? No, it is a difficult one. Full of social conflicts. It means to transfer an employee into a different surrounding, to a different plant, different city. How efficient will be the economic instruments?

They are certainly needed. They are certainly indispensable. Without them the economic policy does not exist. But the economic mechanisms function in a definite social surrounding. Hence, the whole restructuring process cannot be measured by a yardstick and a scale. Consciensousness, initiative, discipline and finally coping up with the difficulties are needed here.

I have no intention to defend the 1981 government decision dealing with the early retirement. A document of this type should be more precise and should not allow as much flexibility as it did. And it is not the early retirement that plays the main part as an evil spirit in work efficiency. Unfortunately, it is a common opinion. Let us try to answer a question first: How many premature retirements do we have?

The Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Assistance presented this matter to the Sejm Labor Committee in such a way: 535,100 early retirements were totally granted from 1 Jan 1981 till 31 Dec 1982--but a real shortage because of that reason should be estimated to be only 200,000 to 300,000. To be more precise: according to ZUS [Social Security Office] estimates, among those who took advantage of the early retirement in 1981-1982, there were 240,000 who had rights to disability pension, thus, they would stop working anyhow.

Some 200,000 to 300,000 professionals (unfortunately, to a large extent, they were the ones who retired and not the ones employed in the so-called nonproductive positions) constitute a big loss. But at the same time, let us have a look at such a calculation: in 1982 an employee in industry worked, on the average, over three weeks less than in 1979. This was caused mainly by such social innovation as the introduction of free Saturdays. If it was followed in return by an increase in the production efficiency, as it was designed, then the potential reserve of the industry employment in 1982 would constitute 140,000 people only because of that reason. In fact, the early retirement, the first and the worst evil is screening us from everything else--bad organization of work, absenteeism and bad management.

Then, there is family care leaves: 700,000 mothers--are they the cause of low work efficiency? Of course there are factories and even whole branches of industry where due to that reason the whole production process was disturbed. In the textile industry, for instance, (women's domain) the early retirement collided with maternity leaves. Talking about the negative economic effects we do not present the full picture. The social results of both decisions constitute this lacking element. The first one allowed for almost total elimination of the so-called social employment, the second one--caused quieter, more worthwhile family life with regard to all the family ties. Mothers chose children. The researchers discovered already a long time ago what value should be attached to the mother--child contact during the first months and even years of child's life.

Thus we face a question: What are the losses? What are the profits? What is worse? What is better? But above all there is the same question: What actions should be undertaken to improve the unbalanced force. This workforce is beginning to be affected by additional factors--a significant diversity of wages in various branches of industry which is breaking down the stability of the workcrews.

So what kinds of actions should be undertaken in order to straighten up and stabilize the job market? It is the question of the day.

Not for the economists only, not only on the highest level. It is a scenario to be played out in almost every enterprise.

Relationship of Employment, Production Increase

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 8 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Gerard Kotlowski: "Reflections on Meetings with Dr Baka. By Means of Rationalization of Employment to the Production Increase"]

[Text] Severe shortages in the workforce, mainly in the production seems to be a major problem that an enterprise has to cope with. It is estimated that there is close to 200,000-300,000 vacancies in Poland at present. The government is being blamed for this state of things, the government who made the decision about the early retirement and up bringing allowances. An estimated 450,000 people took advantage of the early retirement opportunity in 1981-1982, 250,000 participated in the upbringing allowance program. Hence, 700,000 people are beyond the production sphere.

If we are to calculate it and subtract 250,000 vacancies from 700,000 (employment drop due to early retirement and upbringing allowance) one might come to the conclusion that there were 450,000 people left in the job market. Not making it too dramatic let us agree on the 200,000-300,000 figure.

The question about the truth behind the employment deficit should not be left without an answer. If we accept the production efficiency level from 1978 and the present production volume as a base for calculations one may conclude that there should not be any workforce shortages in spite of such a significant drop in employment in 1981-1982. We do produce less, after all, but the fact remains that there is a shortage of people on the job market and it is a key issue for many enterprises. How are we to explain the fact that there should be any deficit on the work market but it is there, all the same.

The faulty employment structure in the enterprises is the main reason for this paradox. For example, where there are 70 percent employed in the production process now there are only 50 percent, in places where there were 60 percent employed in production now there are only 40 percent.

The decision on early retirement and upbringing allowance was created to accomodate these improper relations. However, the cases where the director refused early retirement to an employee were extremely rare. Sometimes the date of the retirement was negotiated. Anybody who wanted could retire, regardless of the enterprise interests. The directors could not resist the pressure and lost many valuable employees. The decision, which was supposed to act selectively, became more general in nature. One should say that the committee on the economic reform headed by Dr Baka proposed a different solution.

Six month paid leave was to be suggested in order that the employee could find another job or change his profession. In case he did not succeed he could come back to the original enterprise and the next group of people would be sent on rotational paid leave. The proposal did not meet a sufficient number of followers.

Those who today so severely criticize the government decision on early retirement should be reminded of the circumstances in which it was made. As we remember, in 1981 we were dealing with the rapid drop in the supplies of raw materials and other products to the enterprises. In many factories the production stood still and the employees were sent to compulsory vacation. The vision of unemployment was threatening us and was becoming more and more realistic. There was not much time to think.

Great expectations were connected with the economic reform, which up to now did not bring any significant changes in this area. The implemented mechanisms did not succeed to force the transfer of the workers from the overcrowded branches of the industry to the areas where the shortages occur. Even in the enterprises themselves it is difficult to perceive any changes connected with the transfer of the employees.

Therefore, we face a question: What next? The impatient suggest to promote a decision forcing the enterprise to decrease the employment level by 10 percent and to transfer the surplus achieved in this way to the plants where it is needed. Such a policy would relieve many directors, since all the consequences of such a move, resulting in the employees' disappointment and dissatisfaction, would fall on the "bad authorities."

The enterprise would profit from laying off the extra people. In the case of the employment drop, money saved in this way could be used for the wage increase of the so-called "deficit professionals." Unfortunately, so far this solution has not been utilized.

Rationalization of employment should begin with the persistent implementation of the government regulations. It is assumable that the deficit raw materials will be given only to the enterprises working effectively. The government will subsidize substantively only in cases of a particular product and the subsidy will be equal to all the producers, regardless the sector of the industry. Then it will be the instituting bodies who will subsidize the unprofitable enterprises. One should take into the consideration that at least some of them are on the verge of bankruptcy, as a result of which their employees will have to be transferred to where they are needed anyhow.

The current practice is as follows: the deficit raw materials were allotted to all the enterprises in the amount of 50 percent to 70 percent of the original needs. The proportion was the same regardless whether the enterprise was producing within budget and efficiently or beyond their budget and inefficiently. In such a situation each enterprise maintained an unchanged employment level and the production costs were growing.

Therefore, we have a very complex social problem here. We should today, think about resolving it. Further support of the opinion that everybody has to work in his particular enterprise and receive wages at the same level, regardless the profits of the enterprise, may take back to "the moon economy", we used to have in 1981, when the whole production brought about a 200-billion-zloty deficit. If we are serious about making our economy healthy we cannot match the work positions to the structure of general and professional education but to the social needs and raw material availability.

Assessment of Youth in Employment

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Jun 83, pp 1, 7

[Article by Bogdan Krakowski "Young Scientists Were Unprepared as a Rule but Criticized Everything with Pleasure. In the Eyes of a Critic"]

[Text] The effectiveness of motivation in the system is the most significant factor in the success of the economic reform. The issue has been recently widely discussed. It still awakens emotions, for obvious reasons. It is reflected in polemics, methods of presentation during the meetings, seminars and conferences as well as in discussions held in the factories.

I participated in several days of training in Warsaw organized by the Main Office of the Polish Economic Association [PTE], and also in a conference on the subject: "System of Motivation in the Enterprise during the Economic Reform," prepared by the provincial branch of PTE in Wroclaw.

The participants in the training came from industrial and construction enterprises throughout Poland. They hoped that in the Main Office where the concepts and the principles of the economic reform are being born--they will have a chance to familiarize themselves with the directions, perspectives and system-type solutions of employment and wages. These expectations were justified since the speakers were recruited from the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs as well as from many other important institutions. The reality was disappointing. Young scholars who conducted the classes were as a rule unprepared and explicitly with pleasure criticized everything that had been done or was being done within the framework of the economic reform in the area of employment and wages. They did not hide their satisfaction when the provoked discussion was nothing else but critique frequently downright demagoguery. The attendance during the classes dropped systematically and some of the speakers were

simply boycotted. It is not surprising since--in my opinion--the training was a source of skepticism and unfavorable attitudes towards the reform. Here is the first of not only my own reflection: Do the scholars who, after all, directly influence the main policy really popularize the reform and a better motivation in particular?

In mid May 1983 at the Oskar Lange School of Economics, in Wroclaw, several researchers and practitioners gathered to discuss the possibilities of the perfectioning of the motivation system in the implementation of the reform. At least that was what was expected at the conference by the representatives of the enterprises. Such was the goal announced in the delivered reports and the leading speeches. Unfortunately, the discussion failed. The comments of the practitioners were one-sided. For example the director of a prominent Wroclaw clothing factory complained of the state interventionism (which disturbed the activity of the independent enterprise). The interventionism consisted of, among other things, burdening of the profits by the Professional Activation Fund connected with the increased wages in the enterprise. He complained that the Planning Commission gave preference to the enterprise producing army footcloths instead giving it to his factory which produces sought after clothing.

The speech was catchy but the head of a factory should know better that the level of preference factor depends on many things not just the production assortment.

A representative of a major enterprise in the machine industry attempted to show how many good results can be brought about by the elite of "the 12 Apostles" [sic] i.e. management-economic progress team acting within the factory, working overtime and paid extra. In his opinion the results can be still better, but it is necessary to guarantee an appropriate share in the profits to these "exceptional" enterprise representatives. I had the impression that the working crew of this factory either does not think about the effective solutions... or they are simply underestimated and unnoticed.

Second reflection: Do certain "managers" of our economy not understand or do not want to understand the spirit of the reform? In their opinion only individuals decide about the success of the reform and whenever possible it is worthwhile to bargain a little about their own particular interests.

However, a sharp polemic between the representatives of the economic science alarmed many of the present who were pushed aside to the role of mute witnesses. The polemic was caused by the statements that the use of official and regulated prices and lack of objectivization in the evaluation of the economic effects make conducting a reasonable wage policy impossible.

Theoretically one may agree with it, but after all, we are implementing the economic reform under excessively difficult and determined by many factors conditions. The conditions result from the economic crisis.

Also surprising was the statement, that the so-called real marxists of Wroclaw "counteract the reform since they are for the egalitarianism of wages."

The flattening of the wage curve is an alarming factor but it is a temporary result of a social situation and not a direction in our economic policy.

The presiding table was also trying to discredit the issues presented by Dr Ber Haus and Dr Jan Budka. These issues dealt with the possibilities of the perfectioning of the motivation system of the enterprise during the economic reform. Also shy attempts of discussion on the subject of viewing the motivation system from a wider perspective and not only from the wages point of view, were criticized. Such an economization of the motivation system is its deprivation of sociological and moral aspects, therefore it is dehumanizing it.

Such opinions caused a lot of amazement among the representatives from the enterprises who were present in the room, and who could quote numerous examples of innovative and interesting motivation solutions in the wide meaning of its concept, which were implemented successfully in many Wroclaw enterprises.

The next reflection: Polemics among the scholars are a frequent and creative phenomena but I doubt whether the assembled factory representatives constitutes the best forum for those. During such conferences the representatives expect, above all, an exchange of experiences (not recipes) and hints indicating optimal solutions.

The discussion of the reform during the meetings between the workers and management concentrates most frequently on wage policy because of the obvious reasons. Fortunately, the slogan of "equal stomach" is heard less and less often.

The workers are interested in wages because of their growing awareness of the inflation factors. That is why more attention is being drawn to the wage and pay relation systems. Interesting proposals of such changes in the principles of the wage-reward system which would ensure the complete implementation of the saying: "Like work-like pay" emerge from the workers and the representatives of the self-managements themselves.

People are sensitive to the justice of the wage policy and they do not associate it at all with the so-called equal distribution. The workcrews are particularly sensitive to the principles of the enterprise policy of nonmaterial rewards. It is worthwhile for the researchers as well as the leaders of the economic life to listen to such proposals.

The final reflection: One should support a real educational program throughout the population which would profit later in a more effective economy. This should be the goal that the meetings of theory and practice should serve.

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CSO: 2600/1023

COMMENTATOR CLAIMS CHURCH CANNOT BE MAIN PARTNER IN DIALOGUE

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 22, 29 May 83 p 1, 6, 7

[Article by Edmund Szopka: "Where Is the Main Road to Dialogue? Discussions and Polemics"]

[Text] Prof Adam Schaff's article appearing in the 30 March 1983 edition of TIT dealing with dialogue, is, in my estimation, an experience which cannot simply be ignored by treating this article on the level of dozens of others lately written on this subject. Its uniqueness comes not only from the time of its writing (dialogue in PRON has achieved a high degree of refinement) but from the person of the author (a noted Marxist philosopher) and above all from its content, which is a new concept of dialogue for Poles.

Naturally, there are theories and premises which no advocate of dialogue will question. Prof Schaff not only approves of dialogue, but moreover attempts to give it more concrete meaning than it had up to this time, calling it, in distinction from dialogue of conflicting, "a dialogue of cooperation," pointing out the precise areas of this cooperation. He properly brings attention to certain matters of world politics which when included in the dialogue render it sterile, leaning toward "dialogue of struggle" with all its negative results for cooperation between Poles. Dialogue between believers and non-believers resulting from an exaggeration of the problems dividing Poles, the author correctly evaluates as permissible but not necessary at this date, recognizing at the same time the need for a dialogue "between the authorities and the church", with which everybody undoubtedly agrees.

What is it that one cannot agree upon with Prof Schaff? If one overlooks the suggestion that the authorities are not amenable and that certain representatives of "many different social factions are urging the authorities to a dialogue with this society," as well as suggestions that the initiative for dialogue must come from the church, which conflicts with the papal encyclicals, then my main difference with Adam Schaff is the question of how important is the "dialogue of the authorities with the church" with PRON in the background.

While agreeing with Prof Schaff on the need for this form of dialogue, I do not share his opinion that a "dialogue of the authorities with society today has to be through a dialogue with the church." This is an opinion magnifying

the importance of this form of dialogue, not only when by "church" one means the church hierarchy but "also the faithful", in one way or another connected with the church. It is sufficient to realize the potential of a case, based on the competency of a subject under discussion between the authorities and the church, to deny this dialogue such exaggerated importance. The nation is sovereign within its territory, it is not therefore subject to any other authority. It is guided in its actions solely by the requirements of its circumstances, since it is a national political institution of a secular character superseding religious denominations. The church, however, is not sovereign, since as a religious institution it transcends nationalities, and is subservient to the Roman Curia, equally in religious as well as in social and political matters (church social doctrine). In connection with these positional differences of national and church, the subject of a partnership dialogue between them can only cover those questions whose eventual solution would be in agreement with the Polish circumstance and the principle of separation of church and state. In dialogue with the authorities, the hierarchy of the church is recognized by the government as representing the citizens' needs and interests solely as members of Roman Catholic unity. Naturally, with the evolution of doctrinal conditions in the church, with a certain gravitation toward democratic ideology, even towards education in socialism, the scope of dialogue will increase, going beyond the question of the government creating legal and material conditions to satisfy the religious needs of the citizens (church construction, parochial schooling etc.). Since in this regard, the situation of the Catholic church in Poland is better than in other countries with similar social-religious structures, the dialogue with the church is relatively more relaxed and therefore is not worth arguing about.

When Prof Adam Schaff summons the authorities to a dialogue with the church, he is not interested in this kind of dialogue. The main point of his discussion is a sociopolitical dialogue between the authorities and society in which the church is given the role of mediating political link, at the same time being a representative "of a considerable portion of society." The respected professor has certain difficulties in getting out of today's fashionable way of thinking, which pits society against the authorities. At one time he clings to it, at another he abandons it, since in one instance he writes about a dialogue "of authorities versus society," as if the authorities were not a part of society, again at another time he claims "we say government, when in fact, with the addition of families, it is a portion of society, and at that quite a big one." He finally comes to the conclusion that the remaining segment of society not within the camp of the government, because of its lack of political uniformity, cannot be a realistic partner with the authorities in today's vital dialogue. Such a potential partner of "authority" can mainly be the church, because "it is an authoritative partner in dialogue, which greatly simplifies its course."

That is why according to Prof Adam Schaff, among the various paths of dialogue "the main path leads through the church." Schaff did not directly pose such a possibility. His article only carries a categorical demand: "The dialogue between the authorities and society today has to be directed through a dialogue with the church." Therefore the premises at the base of this demand have to be found.

One of these is a statistical argument taken from denominational statistics claiming an absolute majority of Catholics within PRL. By the way, Prof Schaff constantly and exclusively uses the definitions "faithful" and "church" without considering denominational plurality or the lack of authorizations of the other churches for the Roman Catholic church to represent them in dialogue with the "authority." Returning to the merits of the problem, it should be noted that the statistical is not as true as it appears to Adam Schaff. Its reality is superficial. The fact that a majority of Poles belong to the Catholic church does not signify that it is recognized by them as a representative for all their various convictions and interests, particularly in political preferences. The church in its programs avows an apolitical stance, which is attested by many binding church documents and particularly the papal encyclicals of recent years. In addition to this, if the faithful of the Catholic church considered the church hierarchy as their representatives in all their different interests, they would not join political parties, trade unions and youth organizations of a nonreligious character in great numbers. Meanwhile, there are many Catholics who were members of the Communist Party, even at a time, when the Catholic hierarchy threatened them with excommunication. Faith in religious dogma does not carry for all Catholics the same meaning, nor trust in all clergy, nor the necessity to subordinate their political convictions to politically-minded priests and monks. Today many faithful listen to political preachings from the pulpit with indignation, because they do not come to hear the Holy Mass to witness its transformation into a political spectacle.

Therefore, the statistical argument identifying the denominational majority with the political majority and political representation does not withstand criticism, and this is the argument Prof Adam Schaff based his demands upon for the recognition of the church as the main partner in dialogue with the "authorities". This argument is weakened unwittingly by the author himself when he confirmed the existence "of an undeniable majority of believers" (although not always participating) in our country, as well as among party members which we call "the authority."

Another argument of Prof Schaff for acknowledging dialogue with the church as "the main path" of dialogue for Poles, claims that "the church is a regulated partner in dialogue, which greatly simplifies its course." You can doubt if this enhances the effectiveness of the dialogue, since the professor admits himself, that "Polish society is politically fragmented and nobody speaks with humility. It is easy in such a situation for a contrived effectiveness and the squelching of pluralistic opinions in the procrastinating positions of the two main parties in dialogue without considering the judgements of the so-called rank and files."

Our doubts about the practicability argument are of secondary importance. Like the question: Why does a major partner promote dialogue, like the Polish Church, when as Prof Adam Schaff claims, "our church belongs to the most conservative in the world?" How can a dialogue with a partner so characterized be conducted in a simplified manner? This particularly when to this claim of A. Schaff we add another: "Dialogue with the church leads into further fields, at times to groups plainly in opposition to the authorities."

What direction could the dialogue between the authorities and the "conservative" church take, when the latter is supposed to be a bridge leading to "circles" in opposition to authorities? Certainly, this formulation can only mean that the church has been set up as a conduit for those hostile to the "authorities". Absolutely not--such a concept of dialogue containing possibilities for agreement with an enemy of the peoples' authorities, cannot promote promising perspectives for a "dialogue of cooperation." This reminds one vividly of Reiff's idea, undoubtedly known to Prof Schalff in spite of his absence from the country at the time. According to Adam Schaff, "dialogue of authorities with the church" is "the only way to national unity." It appears to us, however, that this concept of dialogue can only lead to the promotion of further national disintegration, to the substitution of present pluralistic forms by this decomposition, with one partner polarized by designating it "authority", and the other "church" together with antisocialistic forces hostile to "authority". We are not against any polarization, but this kind we do not need. Prof Adam Schaff's proposal does not promote normalization leading out of crisis of furthering socialism, but rather encourages opposing goals. The polarization proposed by him is false from the standpoint of class politics. It obliterates actual social divisions, politically confuses the working masses finding themselves within the church's zone of influence, it suggests an image of sociopolitical problems which proclaims second-rate social divisions.

However, the basic premise of Adam Schaff's argument for recognition of the dialogue with the church as the only road leading to the "unification of the nation," is the conviction that the Catholic church in Poland is uniform. Because of this, dialogue with the church was to have had a smoother course than for instance with Solidarity, which was a Prof Adam Schaff writes, a "mixtum compositum" [composite mixture] and because of this, even if revived miraculously it could not be partner, since "a common mistake in political reasoning is the treating of Solidarity as a monolithic organization with a uniform politics." Between the lines of this formulation is embedded a conviction that, in contrast, the church precisely constitutes just such an organization and because of this can be the main, potential and real partner in dialogue with the authorities.

Shortage of space does not allow for broader discourse on the subject of conditions within the widely-accepted church, but I dare say that the notion of its uniformity is not true, whether when referring to the church we think of the hierarchy, or in the more evident situation when the church we mean "also the faithful" who are connected in one way or another with the church. For this reason a dialogue with the church cannot have the same importance as Prof Adam Schaff would ascribe to it in his understanding of the Polish dialogue. It only is one of many such important dialogues.

Up to this time we have been minimizing the arguments of Adam Schaff's theories, not always having the occasion to fully present our own point of view regarding the question: Why the cannot Catholic Church be a major partner in dialogue? The simplest answer to this question is: it cannot be, because the church is not a political institution according to its own principles and because the dialogue taking place in Poland presently is, and ought to be, mainly a sociopolitical one. Making the church a major

partner in such a dialogue would not serve the cause effectively, since too often friction would arise, created by meddling in world politics. In connection with this, one should consider that a positive influence on its progress would be a certain separation of the church's authoritative activities relating to the ongoing sociopolitical dialogue in opposition to the church's extremists of Bishop Tokarczuk's kind, who reject cooperative dialogue and who transfer world politics into opposition to any dialogue, or into a confrontation between the faithful and authorities, or else into acts of intolerance to the unfaithful.

By the above we have proven that the church is not suitable for fulfilling the role of partner in a sociopolitical dialogue, since it is not in fact a political institution. This does not exhaust our arguments. Dialogue in a democratic society, if it concerns the political arenas, demand that partners should be organized on a democratic basis, that its representatives be selected from the ranks and not appointed from above. Only this control by the rank and file can assure a representation of independent participants in political dialogue. It is a known fact that the church organization does not have such structural qualities, which disqualifies it as a partner in a democratic political dialogue.

Who then can be a partner in the Polish dialogue? I surmise that every true patriot can so be, regardless of his social, religious, world opinion and political affiliation, as well as every organization built on the democratic precepts of the constitution of PRL. There also exists in this framework a field of sociopolitical dialogue which Adam Schaff in his article completely ignored. That field is PRON. One can have doubts as to the specific program and organizational goals of this movement and for the prospects of its development. You cannot, however, propose an opposing concept without adjusting it to earlier proposals discussed by millions of Poles.

Naturally I do not identify the Polish dialogue with PRON. I can continue independently of it, also between authorities and the church; however, PRON is already the main strata for sociopolitical dialogue and has the possibility to play a still more important role as a promoter of a realistic understanding, if not for all Poles, since this is impossible, then for all patriots, those who in cooperative activities, accomplishments, but not in demagogic slogans elevate Poland and to whom is not known the saying, "the harder it is--the better it is."

There can be no dialogue or agreement with those who, as described at one time by Prof Jan Szccepanski, "drag Poland down", and are pulling her in that direction, who are today not only laggards, common swindlers and speculators, but also those who with foreign inspiration create street disorders, or who for the proverbial pieces of silver serve foreign enemy powers, not only against socialism, but against Poland.

So runs the dividing line today. In the meantime A. Schaff suggests that the basic line of demarcation runs between the authorities and the majority of society represented by the Catholic church. For the professor, this is the point of departure and the expedient for cooperative dialogue. The

dialogue of two principal partners should consolidate and institutionalize such a sharing. Under the pretext of the necessity for cooperative dialogue, A. Schaff would like to incorporate the church into our political system, assigning to it in this system the role of the main link. It is good at least that the church is defending itself against such a role, realizing the intentions of certain authentically political powers hostile to the Polish Peoples' Republic, that can take advantage of the church and the religious feelings of its followers.

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CSO: 2600/1001

PARTY DAILY REPORTS ON TU I TERAZ POLEMIC

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 Jun 83 p 6

[Article by J.R.: "From Columns of Periodicals: Polemic With Adam Schaff"]

[Text] In the latest issue of the weekly, TU I TERAZ, there is an article by Wojciech Garstka, a polemic against Adam Schaff's article, "Crisis of Marxism or Marxists?" that appeared in mid-March in that weekly. In recent weeks a number of points in Schaff's article were questioned also by authors of other polemic contributions to TU I TERAZ: Jacek Tittenbrun, Wiktoria Dewitz, Wit Gawrak, and Adam Rostowski.

In his article, Adam Schaff appears as a spokesman for "the defense of principles" and this was why after 14 years of "exile and absolute silence in the country," he made "an appeal, which to a great extent was a matter of personal decision." The author, referring to the views of Marx and Engels, formulates the thesis that they established a "whole syndrome (or even a system) of conditions on the fulfillment of which Marxism bases its theoretical consent to undertaking a socialist revolution."

Presenting his own opinions on the state of marxist thought in Poland, Schaff writes that mobilization and collection of marxists who are "broken in spirit" in order to give these "broken" or even "slightly broken" people some kind of assistance is not needed. The article contains personal attacks on certain representatives of marxist thought.

These and other controversial ideas in Schaff's article were questioned by polemicists in TU I TERAZ. Acknowledging the seriousness and the need for analysis of the manifestations of crisis, and for eliminating gaps in theoretical studies of their causes and character, most of these polemicists accuse Schaff of approaching this complex subject in a simplistic and slanted way.

The following generalization in Schaff's article especially met with sharp contradiction: "The idea that the failure thus far of architects of socialist revolutions to fulfill marxist conditions had to lead to weakness and difficulties for these revolutions should elicit no surprise. What is to blame for this is not marxism, but rather actions that are incompatible with marxist teachings. Marxism was not negated by these negative facts; on the contrary,

it was confirmed. Therefore what we have to deal with is a crisis not of marxism, but of marxists."

"A thesis formulated in this way, however," writes Jacek Tittenbrun, "leaves unexplained certain basic problems. In this case what is the situation actually prevailing in countries of so-called real socialism? Is it socialism or some kind of semisocialism, or perhaps ('state') capitalism? The lack of an answer to these questions introduces ambiguity into the basic question: How does the author understand socialism, what are his basic criteria for 'socialisticity'?" It is the opinion of Tittenbrun that Schaff silently indicates that in countries of real socialism it can only be qualified socialism such as "defective socialism," or "false socialism" as contrasted with the "true socialism" or "ideal socialism" that the marxist classicists had in mind.

On the same theme, Adam Rostowski writes: "As I see it, Schaff tries, in a camouflaged way, to smuggle in the idea that revolutionary, socialistic, social-political changes in our country were and are premature." Referring to Schaff's statements already cited, Rostowski continues: "Should this complicated and very one-sidedly simplified theoretical reasoning therefore lead to the conclusion that we were not in a position to have a socialist revolution and that it was premature and perhaps forced, and therefore perhaps we will have to retreat in its further course to a bourgeois-democratic revolutionary phase? We are therefore close to ideas recognized and widely circulated by known political forces of the years 1980-1981."

Wojciech Garstka says that Schaff's words "are the same as saying that the socialist revolution was realized in spite of socialist theory." "Prof Schaff defends marxism somewhat perversely since he says that we did not hold to it very strongly in its catechistic edition."

In the polemics against Schaff's ideas there are accusations that he breaks the bond between theory and practice. Garstka writes: "It is not 'original sin' or not listening to the 'cautioning' recommendations of Marx that is the source of our difficulties. These confirm marxism in an entirely different way: they indicate that disregarding the unity of development of theory and practice, disregarding the actual class-strata conflict and all other local conditions and treating class ideas catechistically or apologetically leads inevitably to vitiation and mistakes."

Diagnoses in Schaff's article of the situation in the area of development of marxist thinking in Poland also resulted in polemics. Questioned was Schaff's description of a marxist as one who "knowing marxist theory (obviously various 'steps of initiation' are possible, but we are concerned here with a basic knowledge in this area), internalizes it, that is, knowing the rightness of its ideas, he identifies his position with these ideas."

Tittenbrun writes that such a description excludes the possibility of an objective determination of whether one is a marxist, independent of the cognizance and declaration of the given author. "Certainly the fact that someone subjectively identifies with marxism does not mean that he must actually represent that theory in his investigative practice."

Wojciech Garstka cites the examples of people who defended marxism one day and announced the next day that "marxism is dead." Referring to a different statement of Schaff, Garstka writes: "Are the 'marxists who are sick in spirit' really marxists? In my opinion they are only frustrated fellow travelers. Neither L. Nowak nor W. Bienkowski nor S. Bratkowski nor W. Lamentowicz, and especially not J. Kuron, who also at one time had a red identity card in his pocket, were ever marxists or communists in my opinion."

"To fulfill revolutionary tasks from the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat," writes Adam Rostowski, "it would be necessary to have a clear, unequivocal marxist-leninist party line, which could not 'drag along behind the masses,' but would have to be their real, revolutionary avant-garde. I doubt very much that the party can be such an avant-garde and directing force when 'broken,' 'bent,' or 'slightly broken' marxists begin to join it. The series of twists and crises in the party and in the country confirm these misgivings. What does Schaff's 'crisis of marxists' mean then?"

The authors of polemic argumentation indicate great gaps and omissions in the development of marxist thought in Poland and question Schaff's diagnoses. W. Dewitz writes that in marxist thought there is no reflection of many real problems. "Gaps in the study of the economic structure and its role in life in Polish society are not the result just of a lack of interest and other such sources, but most of all they are the result of inadequacies in the area of theory, and underdevelopment of the conceptual and analytical apparatus," writes J. Tittenbrun. Observations concerning positive tasks in the area of improving Marxist reflection in our country are contained also in other articles.

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CSO: 2600/1012

POLITICAL

POLAND

BRIEFS

MARTIAL LAW MAY BE LIFTED--London, 24 Jun (AFP)--Pope John Paul II's visit to Poland may speed up the lifting of military rule there, but the earliest date at which it could be lifted would be July 22, according to a Polish official. The official, Wieslaw Gornicki, a personal advisor to Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski, told the British Broadcasting Corporation in an interview last night that the trip may accelerate the process leading to the lifting of military restrictions. Mr Gornicki said he could "not be committed to a precise date but July 22d was the closest that could be considered." Overall, he said, the visit "was very helpful." He added, however, that "the Polish Government has found some of the pope's sermons objectionable." The pope repeatedly spoke out in defense of the banned solidarity union and in opposition to martial law during his eight-day trip to Poland, which ended yesterday. [Text] [NC240820 Paris AFP in English 0815 GMT 24 Jun 83]

CSO: 2020/47

SYSTEM OF AWARDING STUDENT STIPENDS CRITICIZED

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 13 Apr 83 p 7

[Article by Sorin Rosca-Stanescu: "Stipends and Legal Terms"]

[Text] I cite from the content of one of the recent letters to the editor, letters which hint at one and the same thing: the conditions for awarding stipends: "I am a graduate in transportation, construction and industrial economics of the 1982 class of ASE Bucharest and my name is Georgeta Marcusanu. I am now an apprentice economist at the Cimpulung furniture factory, Arges county. As is well-known, in some schools, including ASE, job offers in production are made in the month of September. I received a job offer on 10 September 1982 with the requirement that I appear on the job by 10 October 1982. The fact that I was not engaged in production on 15 September 1982 led to the rejection of the stipend application submitted by my husband Eugen Marcusanu, a student in his fifth year in the transportation department at Bucharest, road vehicles section. This was for a totally groundless reason since I presented a voucher from the enterprise attesting to the fact that I showed up for work following my appointment, within the allotted time. Another equally groundless reason was that our marriage took place on 25 September 1982.... I should mention that he is a good student, his average for the 4 years of study being 8.29 and 8 for the fourth year. He did not have any debts in those 4 years.... My salary of 1,800 lei monthly is insufficient to support the family, my parents still being in my care (my mother is a housewife, my father is retired) while his parents have four children, two of whom are students in the fifth year."

Our inquiry, addressed to the head of the Bucharest polytechnic institute, received the following response, signed by Prof Dr Eng Voicu Tache, the rector of the institute and N. Dima, head secretary: "Eugen Marcusanu, a fifth year student in the department of transportation, did not receive a stipend for the first semester of 1982/1983 because of his spouse's income since, in accordance with the provisions of Decree No 198/1980 Annex 3 Article 7, the framing of income ceilings established by law is made for the beginning of the year and for the semester. His spouse was appointed to production on the 10th of October 1982...."

Thus, on the one hand, the Marcusanu couple is soliciting a stipend because Eugen actually meets the conditions that he is married and that his wife is

an apprentice and as such the income of the young family is below the ceiling established by law. On the other hand, the requested stipend is not granted even in the case where such basic conditions are met since their situation does not fit into any of the provisions of Decree 198/1980 (meaning Article 7 of Annex 3), a provision, by virtue of which granting of a stipend is not allowed except at the beginning of the year or of the semester, regardless of changes which have occurred in the petitioner's civil status or income status. From a discussion which we had with Dan Petrescu, vice president of the UASC council of the polytechnic institute of Bucharest, it turns out that no agency could award them social aid because "the allocation of social assistance is made up until the middle of the first semester and according to conditions which the Marcusanu do not meet." Continuing, he adds: "I believe that a more flexible application of the law is necessary. There are situations in life which have to be taken into account with appropriate understanding. Thus, factors which do not depend on the student can deprive them of rights which, humanistically speaking, are their due." Finally, Eugen Marcusanu cannot benefit from any special stipend, from the 5 percent fund, since, as we are told by Comrade N. Dima, head secretary of the polytechnic institute, such stipends are awarded only to students who do not have the minimum median stipend or to those who have failed an examination, at the same income ceiling. Although Eugen Marcusanu is married and as a result, his income cannot be reported together with the income of his former legal providers, and although his wife has a job with a monthly salary of 1,880 lei and, finally, although Eugen meets the median conditions, solely because of the fact that he married after the beginning of the academic year and that his wife entered into a contractual work relationship (on the basis of a job offer) as of 10 October, he cannot benefit from a stipend during the first semester. Thus, through the provisions of the above-mentioned article, a strange situation is created. By a reductio ad absurdum kind of argument it turns out that as far as the marriage is concerned, at least, regardless of the natural development of the emotional relationship between two young people, they have to get married (in order to be able to enjoy their legal rights) during the vacation. We should further mention that a portion of the stipends allocated by the Bucharest polytechnic institute were handed back by the ministry of education and training. That being the case, if Eugen Marcusanu had been permitted a stipend, no sort of financial complication would have been created for the polytechnic institute. Moreover, as Comrade N. Dima tells us, in the event the stipends were to be allocated at any time during the course of the semester as a function of changes that occurred in a student's situation, "in fact, no kind of impediment would be created to the administrative order."

On the other hand, even according to the service's interpretation of the law which responds to the problems of stipends within the ministry of education and training staff, it turns out that the polytechnic institute of Bucharest proceeded correctly in accordance with the normative acts in force when it rejected the request of the Marcusanu couple.

In discussing the matter with Prof Dr Eng Ion N. Popescu, prorector of the IPB, we find that Eugen Marcusanu's case is in no way unique. The comrade

prorector supplies us with an example of two students at the polytechnic institute whose father died and, because his demise occurred after the beginning of the academic year, even though they had no other source of income, they could not benefit from a stipend. "Another category of situations which, by chance, is covered by the same provisions of Decree No 198/1980 has to do with the income ceiling. The law establishes this ceiling without, however, making any distinction in connection with the number of legal dependents. More specifically, the situation is not at all clear with regard to two legal providers who have an income above the ceiling but have 4-5 children in their care so that, in fact, when the income is divided among the members of the family, it is tangibly less than in the case of other providers with only one or two children." We also subscribe to the proposal formulated by the comrade prorector that "a possible new regulation should be more flexible with regard to the limitations established on submission of stipend applications." We await, in regard to this problem, the opinions of our readers, of students and of those involved in training, with the conviction that a public debate can propose and offer solutions that will contribute to the perfection of the system for awarding stipends in accordance with the changes that take place in our socio-economic life.

9794
CSO: 2700/236

BRIEFS

MILITARY EXERCISES--The Ministry of National Defense announces that, in accordance with the training plan for the armed forces for 1983, exercises will be held in June. Reservists will also participate in these exercises. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Jun 83 p 5]

MANESCU APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Manea Manescu, vice president of the Council of State, is appointed chairman of the National Council for the Unitary Management of the Land Supply. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 16 28 Mar 83 p 7]

MINISTERIAL APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Catrinescu is appointed minister state secretary in the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 25, 8 Apr 83 p 2]

PEOPLES COUNCIL APPOINTMENT--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrades Teofil Gal, director general of the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Bihor County, is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Bihor County Peoples Council. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 25, 8 Apr 83 p 2]

MINISTERIAL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Constantinescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the machine tool, electrical engineering and electronic industry and that Comrade Eleonora Cojocaru is appointed vice chairman of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 25, 8 Apr 83 p 2]

BRAILA APPOINTMENT--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Lungu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Braila County Peoples Council. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 26, 15 Apr 83 p 1]

NEAMT APPOINTMENT--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Maria Gheorghe is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Neamt County Peoples Council. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 26, 15 Apr 83 p 2]

MINISTERIAL APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Lieutenant General Iulian Vlad is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior and appointed deputy minister of the interior. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 26, 15 Apr 83 p 2]

MINISTERIAL APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Adrian Stoica is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the chemical industry and appointed deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. Comrade Gheorghe Antonescu is appointed deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. Comrade Constantin Popescu is appointed deputy minister of light industry. Comrade Constantin Tudor is appointed deputy minister of the machinebuilding industry. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 26, 15 Apr 83 p 2]

REMOVAL OF COUNSELOR--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Vasile Bumbacea is relieved of his position as counselor to the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 26, 15 Apr 83 p 2]

CSO: 2700/250

CROATIAN LC ASSESSES ITS ROLE, WEAKNESSES

Inventory of Performance

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 24 May 83 pp 4-8

[Article by Gojko Marinkovic: "Under Its Own Magnifying Glass"]

[Text] Analyses of the performance of basic organizations of the LC show that about a fourth of the agendas are devoted to elections and adoption of programs, 22 percent to economic problems, 11 percent to working up the material of the Central Committee, 2.6 percent to personnel, 5 percent to moral and political problems and training for ideological action, 2 percent to self-management relations, 5 percent to the accountability of members, and about 1.5 percent to the political and security situation. In presenting these figures at the First Conference of the Croatian LC, which was devoted to the topic "The League of Communists Today," and aware of all the shortcomings of these statistics, Jure Bilic put the question: Is this the purport and content of the effort of a revolutionary organization such as the League of Communists ought to be?

"In many of them," Bilic said on that occasion, "meetings are rarely held, they are often formalities, or the membership comes together only to pay dues, and in such a case what will be the performance and reputation of party members? And not only that: How will our programs and tasks be carried out if, for the sake of illustration, the Presidium meets every week, the Central Committee once a month, and basic organizations on the average only once every 2 months?"

Tones

Bilic added to these words about the situation in the League of Communists, which were unusually harsh, especially for party officials, that as many as 30,000 members of the LC are not paying their dues regularly, and 8,500 of them are several months behind. Members of the party include those who are not even paying their rent, electricity or other social obligations, particularly in Karlovac, Rijeka and Zagreb. Certain analyses show that the workers do not see essential differences between members and nonmembers of the LC, especially in work performance, responsibility and discipline. This is asserted by all of 76 percent of the workers polled, while members of the LC speaking

about themselves assert the opposite, say that party members are good workers, that they are disciplined and responsible, and that their work is being felt.

There were quite a few sentences similar to these in the address, and all this indicates that the League of Communists is conscious of its shortcomings and that the process of critical examination of its own conditions is still continuing within it. There seems to be a revival of the harsh tones which were heard in the precongress preparations and at the congresses themselves, but not in order to spread the revolutionary essence of the party, but above all in order to demonstrate again and prove with deeds one of the old maxims: The truth should not be hidden. Space, then, should be opened up to criticism within the League of Communists, it needs to be freed of all the fetters and smothering and every member of the LC and every individual must be given the right to freely and frankly say everything if it contributes to progress in socialism. But the party does not need criticism for the sake of criticism, since, as Bilic said, the LC is not an organization which confines itself to discussion and polemics and often mumbles all sorts of things and behaves irresponsibly. The shortcomings need to be detected and registered, but solutions also need to be offered, the constructive needs to be advanced, that in which our future can be seen.

If one were to offer the briefest diagnosis of the present moment in the LC, then it would run like this: the LC is not satisfied with itself, and the awareness that this needs to be said openly has now taken over. Science has also been called upon to provide aid in this diagnostic examination, as never before it seems to us.

The results of the increasingly numerous surveys, and the best evidence of this is in the report of Jure Bilic, are becoming an ever more solid model for political assessments. We would say that they do not differ essentially from what was said at the party congresses. The public discussion and analyses made in the Central Committee did not reveal any new problems, and the dilemmas did not call into question the basic views and assessments of the situation with respect to individual aspects of performing the leading ideological-political role of the League of Communists issued by the congresses and meetings of the Croatian LC Central Committee. Nevertheless, the discussion of theses prepared for this conference did contribute to a better examination of the present practice of the League of Communists and to relating certain current events and tendencies to the tasks of the League of Communists set forth in the congress documents.

Cases

Recently we have cleared up many so-called cases in certain basic organizations and leadership bodies. These cases are often being imposed on us, and it unfortunately appears at such times that the League of Communists is solely concerned with itself and secondary matters. Nor are the same criteria always evident in these showdowns.

For example: The basic organization of the LC of the "Otokar Kersovani" Publishing House and also the Opatija Opstina Committee of the LC acted properly in meting out penalties and in taking political steps. In certain other places there have been other criteria, although their oversights deserve greater political condemnation. When we proposed that the Presidium of the Glina Opstina Conference of the LC be dissolved, we were applauded by many, but when we took a position in certain other cases, we were not believed, and it was felt that we were permissive and unprincipled and that on that basis there was an intrigue and haranguing in a desire to throw mud at the leadership. Here it seems that the principle of democratic centralism does not apply to all equally. When matters are being cleared up, everyone has the right to state his opinion, but an opinion grounded in principle, not on the basis of cliques and factions, with which the LC is pretty much burdened. There are cases when certain comrades maintain their own line of communication with leadership bodies of the League of Communists in the opstina or basic organization, bypassing the customary above-board communication in the LC.

They are constantly digging around, they want to impose themselves as a conscience, expressing distrust in the leadership bodies of the LC, they impose their own criteria and assessments, and they even go so far as to send letters to those basic organizations of the LC with the demand that the opstina leadership be changed. We have often tolerated all of this.

Jure Bilic

Inventory

The Conference of the Croatian LC, and let us also say that only the bylaws of this republic organization foresees this format as an obligation, was at the same time an occasion to draw up an annual inventory of performance of the Croatian LC. It is felt that a 4-year period is too long and that in the meantime the Central Committee and its organs do not submit a report or advisory to anyone on their performance. In the second part of this article we will deal specifically with the actual course of the conference, with its assessments and conclusions, while here we will use the materials and professional analyses made in the Central Committee in an attempt to draw up an annual inventory and to look under the skin of that initial question: How are programs and tasks to be carried out when the Presidium meets once a week, the Central Committee once a month, and basic organizations once every other month?

Let us take things in order. The Presidium met 42 times and had 138 items on the agenda, 75 of them basic issues. There were five joint meetings with the State Presidency of SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia and several meetings with secretaries of presidiums of opstina committees of the LC and conference of opstina communities. Usually the meetings were not confined to the members themselves, and this inclusion of others has proved to be a very good format. A survey of performance cannot cover all the important matters, but since this is a political executive body, it is quite understandable that what are called in political language "current business" was dominant. Under the pressure of day-to-day difficulties the discussion usually concerned economic problems,

but it is quite certain that ideological matters held second place in that "ranking." Certainly this does not mean that the Presidium discussed only issues raised by current events, since it also kept to its own plan.

In this period we have also noted an important innovation: After a lengthy period of time certain meetings of the Presidium are again being opened to the public and may be attended by newsmen as well, and the fact that most of the minutes can be examined also is contributing to this openness to public scrutiny. To some this might appear a mere technical matter, but, not at this point to enumerate the other arguments against that opinion, we will say only that party organizations and the broader public cannot be promptly and fully informed if their knowledge of some event remains at the level of the reader, if they and others have no other source of information than the bare report or communication by TANJUG.

"Something new" has also been noted in the work of the Central Committee: since the 9th Croatian LC Congress (13-15 May 1982) there have been all of 11 meetings, and the holding of plenums is continuing at such a pace that it will nearly double the number of 20 meetings which were held by the previous Central Committee. But let us pass from the figures, to which we should add that there are more and more participants in this discussion, fewer and fewer monologues, and more dialogues, to that most essential thing. What is the Central Committee concerned with?

Socioeconomic relations and economic stabilization are topics to which the Central Committee has devoted three meetings, nor could they be avoided in discussions of other issues as well. Even at the first working meeting (at the end of June 1982) there were notes of warning concerning the condition in the economy, and how could there not have been when that was the time when there was a great deal of talk about the debts of Prevredna Banka Zagreb, and there was even mention of the word--bankrupt. This was the dilemma: repay the debts or purchase production supplies so that production did not come to a halt; the way out was seen in strengthening the exports of agriculture and tourism, which was supposed to be the driving forces behind invigoration of economic activity. The resolving of the problems of foreign relations was put in first place in the resolutions, along with emphasis that the obligation to repay debts is above all the responsibility of those who took the credits, and only after that can broader forms of solidarity be counted on. A joint session with the Council of Croatian Trade Unions was devoted to income, and then in September 1982 it was estimated that the goals agreed on are not being achieved in the distribution of income and net income, nor specifically in personal incomes policy. The present assessment, however, is that what was agreed on will be achieved in the first quarter. The eighth meeting discussed ideological-political issues related to the republic's social development plan during the current year.

Good System--Bad Practice

Party members without exception are emphasizing that the problem should not be sought in the conception of the system, but in its realization, above all in

the performance of the organized subjective forces. Some people are even expressing amazement, indeed even a certain anger, that this is being discussed at all. "The premises of development of the political system are never disputed," it was stated in the report of the Dvor Opstina Conference of the LC, "but there are departures which are the result of subjective shortcomings. The people in those places know how the delegate system is supposed to function, how decisions are supposed to be made, but the work of the delegations is not being felt. Party members and organizations are also conscious of their own shortcomings, but in practice they very rarely attempt to alter their behavior. And the working class is aware of its leading role, but it still has not freed itself of the bureaucracy. Often very important decisions are made in all places on the basis of proposals prepared in advance 'from above,' and rarely from the base. The way out of the difficulties lies in the demand for everyone to do his job with extreme responsibility and to take responsibility for the errors he commits. There cannot and dare not be discussion of a revision of the political system, but rather everyone must fulfill his obligations in it."

And in spite of various shortcomings and weaknesses which have occurred in practice, self-management does not have an alternative. The problem does not lie in the conception, but in its implementation. It is not permissible to debate the basic commitments (Kutina). "The socialist system of self-management is not to blame for our difficulties at the moment, but rather deformations in its functioning. The desires that exist here and there for a strengthening of the 'firm hand' are not encountering the support of party members" (Rijeka).

Excerpt from the discussion of the Theses

A Sidetrack

There is another large body of topics which we might place under the common denominator of ideological issues and ideological construction, theoretical work and information. One plenum was devoted to young people, one to personnel policy, but it was the 10th Meeting which had by far the greatest response; the main item on its agenda was: Current Ideological Issues and the Tasks of the League of Communists. We will recall that that plenum, which was held in early April, was preceded by extremely lengthy and abundant preparations and that it pointed up the basic causes of the disorder on the ideological front and issued assessments of the key developments in both the republic and in the country as a whole. In this short period of 1 year the Central Committee has found the time to concern itself with organizational matters and the bylaws as well, and to discuss the political system and the social services.

Yet all of this is more or less familiar to the public, but it seems that the greatest "secret" is what the basic organizations have done in this period, what they have been concerned with, and what impact this great activity on the part of our highest party forums has had on them. It is difficult to offer precise and thorough answers to these questions, which have key importance for

party action, but it seems to us that on the basis of reports of 33 opstina committees concerning public discussion before the First Conference one can frame certain relevant assessments. The reports inform us about the attitude of basic organizations toward the 20 theses which were prepared, and one of their characteristics is that they are concerned above all with weaknesses and shortcomings, but rarely analyze constructive examples and results.

One of the fundamental assessments is that "the deviation from the conception of the activity of the League of Communists, as set forth in congress documents, can also be seen in the fact that the basic organizations and leadership bodies of the LC are not concerned with the issues they ought to be concerned with or are concerned with them in a manner that obstructs or hinders the work of those entities in society which must be concerned with them." The content of the work of many basic organizations comes down to resolving secondary matters within very local communities, which is to say that the League of Communists is on a "sidetrack."

A large number of the reports point directly or indirectly to this phenomenon, and the opstina committees quantify its extent by using the terms "a certain number," "a number," "a few," or "certain basic organizations." Rarely is it asserted that a majority of the organizations are concerned with less important and peripheral matters, so that it can be concluded that most of the organizations are after all concerned with the essential problems of socioeconomic and political life of their community and of society as a whole. However, if we adopt this assumption, how are we to explain difficulties on such a scale and indeed even the standstill in the development of self-management, the accumulated economic problems, as well as the augmented adverse occurrences in certain other spheres of life? After all, then, we should regard as realistic the supposition that a majority of basic organizations are on a sidetrack, as, incidentally, is confirmed by certain surveys, such as the one, say, dating from 1981, which showed that organizations are devoting between 1 and 3 percent of their activity to implementation of the Law on Associated Labor.

(Ir)responsibility

The problem of differentiation also includes the question of responsibility, which has also been a subject of lively discussion. What has been said about the demands for differentiation also applies to the question of tighter responsibility. We are presenting only some of the testimony concerning this phenomenon. Thus the reports of certain opstina organizations emphasize that in practice we are not fighting for responsibility, that in the meetings of committees and presidiums responsibility is spoken about in general terms and with kid gloves, although a majority of the commissions do not meet, and a majority of the members of the presidiums do not discharge the obligations they have assumed, so that the number of uncertain conclusions is increasing rapidly (Maksimir).

Many problems which are occurring in society are intertwined with imprecise responsibility, which causes confusion and hesitation on the part of the

membership and results in passivization (Osijek). At present responsibility is appealed to only by those "at the lowest level," whose sins are the smallest (Ozalj). There is frequent mention of mistakes concerning investment projects, and the question of responsibility is put (Dubrava).

A Mentality Inclined to the Issuance of Directives

A second observation is that the activity of many basic organizations and indeed of leadership bodies of the LC frequently goes no further than the holding of meetings and adoption of views and conclusions. This, then, is an old disease: we have a great many--indeed a virtual inflation--of conclusions, resolutions, decisions, proposals, agreements and accords which no one adheres to, which appear not to commit anyone. And that kind of practice is evident at all levels from the basic organization to the LCY Central Committee. This is first of all a consequence of insufficient willingness to perform tasks, but also of a remnant of the old method of operation from the previous period when the League of Communists operated predominantly or to a greater extent by handing out assignments and directives to others.

This halting of the activity of the organization at a halfway point (going only up to the conclusion, followed by silence as to action) is the main cause of the poor activity on the part of party members, which is why in the discussions there is much insistence on setting forth individual duties and on continuous monitoring of the performance of tasks.

The old method of operation is also manifested in maintenance of direct communication between the basic organizations and the opstina committees. This tie is becoming stronger, but it is still more one-way, and when basic organizations ask for better communication with the committee, often the demands are made for "more help" than for opportunities for they themselves to become involved in the shaping and implementation of the policy of the LC in the broader social community and in society at large. The Osijek Opstina Committee of the LC, for example, sees in this phenomenon an endeavor to assume as little responsibility as possible and to pass on possible oversights and failures to higher leadership bodies, while in Rijeka they think that the cause of this phenomenon lies in the "pronounced hierarchical logic as to the supplying of initiative," which is why "a majority of the basic organizations of the LC wait for initiative to come from above." It is asserted on that basis that under such conditions it is "almost the normal thing, which it absolutely should not be, for the LC to debate certain important issues and excesses after the fact when they might have been prevented in good time." The extent to which the "mentality accustomed to issuing directives" is still present is shown by the datum that all of 75 percent of the items on the agenda (January-June 1979) in Rijeka were devoted to going over materials from higher authorities.

Other committees also point up this fact, and a warning has come in from Velika Gorica that in the first quarter the organizations were mainly taking up material obtained from the Croatian LC Central Committee, the city committee and the opstina committee. And the Sesvete Committee emphasizes that the

organizations are showered with demands for supplying data of various kinds and with conclusions and stands "from above." There are also objections to the technology that governs the writing of party documents: that they are excessively broad and vague, which causes dissatisfaction and makes the membership passive. Party documents are often dry, uncreative, mediocre, the same things are frequently repeated in them, and all of this gives party members the impression that the League of Communists is powerless, that it is marking time, that it is constantly harking back to the same things.

If we were to sum up all these criticisms and assessments, then it seems that the greatest problem is that there is not enough correspondence on the one hand between the views and reality and on the other between the individual leadership bodies (from the opstina committees to the Central Committee) and basic organizations in the way they see the problems. There is an argument to support this assertion in the widespread opinion that leadership bodies are separated from the basic organizations and that they are overburdened with excessively broad and abstract materials. All of this stands as a warning that there ought to be a more thorough analysis of present practice if the situation is not to continue in which concrete answers are sought from the "base," while at the same time the "base" is not receiving clear answers to concrete questions.

Unity

We should not be sensitive in the least--as Edvard Kardelj pointed out--even when some of our foreign friends who are not aware of the balance of power in our country criticize us for sometimes using administrative measures. Hostile forces are on the offensive. The recent actions of the League of Communists have only to some extent quieted down that din of the reactionary forces, but nothing essential has changed in the essential balance of power, even though certain constructive steps have been taken. It is disturbing that on matters of concrete opposition to the antisocialist forces there is not enough unity within the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In the republic and provincial organizations of the LC there are differing patterns of behavior and differing criteria concerning these occurrences, and the LCY Central Committee is not exerting a sufficient influence on events or on the situation in society and the LCY, and it is having a hard time working out a unified practical line of action in the fight against such things. That is why the struggle for unity within the League of Communists and in its leadership bodies has decisive importance to the future course of our revolution.

Jure Bilic

The Rich Richer--The Poor Poorer

It is high time that something also be said about social welfare problems in society, in the working class, and indeed even in the party. But not only for us to speak, but to create a program for effectively changing the situation and for us to act concretely and decisively. Since Comrade Tito's speech in

Split and the letter of the Executive Bureau up to the present time the situation has only deteriorated in this regard. Differentiation with respect to social welfare has not diminished: the rich are continuing to get richer, and those who are poorer are still lagging behind. This is a fact, and the problem lies precisely in the fact that this enrichment is occurring not through labor, but through speculation, alienation of public property, various forms of income derived from property, tax evasion and similar methods.

Jure Bilic

Waiting for Therapy

Partial X-raying of the League of Communists has confirmed that the assessment still stands as uttered by the 9th Croatian LC Congress to the effect that the influence of the LC on certain important social developments has dropped off and that the question is still open as to how the LC is to be built as an internal revolutionary and driving force of the political system of socialist self-management. That is, even now it has been observed that frequently the LC operates outside the system and independently, within the framework of its own organizations and organs, that its effort does not go beyond holding meetings, and that the basic organizations and organs frequently act mistakenly, imposing their views instead of fighting for them in the bodies of management, in assemblies and in other bodies through a free discussion in which views are supported by argument.

One tendency that has been noted since the congress deserves particular attention: that is, the number of newly enrolled members is continuing to drop. Thus in 1960 the Croatian LC enrolled 23,892 members, in 1981 that number dropped to 15,015 new members, and last year it was 9,588. It is difficult to say whether the reason for this lies in the tighter criteria the congresses insisted on or perhaps there has been a lack of vigor in this area. Yet one should not lose sight of the warnings of certain researchers that this is a normal phenomenon, since the massive enrollment of the LC which continued until recently exhausted all the important reserves of potential members. Incidentally, with its 350,000 members the Croatian LC is the largest today it has ever been.

One would have to write a thick book in order to give an entire picture of the League of Communists today, and even then something would probably be forgotten, but still one can conclude from these data and assessments that this year has not brought any essential changes. The X-ray of the party (although it seems to us it still has not gone deep enough) has shown many shadows, indicating that the League of Communists must find therapy for the diseases and shortcomings detected. Should it seem to someone that the picture is a bit black and that this kind of "entry" into the tissue of the party could nibble away that tissue still more and cause it injury, then all we can do is to say that it is necessary and that the party itself has opted for it, looking precisely to its role in history.

Course of Conference

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 24 May 83 pp 34-35

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "What the Conference Said"]

[Text] Croatia's party organization has once again surveyed the condition of its ranks. Not only with respect to the manner of its organization, but still more on the topic: The League of Communists Today; on the basis of its tasks and its claims this was a minicongress of the Croatian party. The picture of the party as it was portrayed in the introductory address by Jure Bilic and as it appeared in the preliminary discussion in basic organizations of the LC throughout the republic, offered challenges for the dialogue on the conference to go further than a mere mirroring of the present situation, which everyone agrees is unsatisfactory.

Six Contradictions

Jure Bilic numbered six contradictions in the context of the party's life at the moment, contradictions which do not affect it alone: although the League of Communists in its development to date has committed itself in its program and practical politics to operate as the leading ideological force in building the system of socialist self-management, "the contradictions are becoming more acute between performance of its function from positions of power and activity as the political organization of the working class. This contradiction is all the sharper because we confront widespread tendencies to bypass self-management and pressure for the League of Communists to resolve the complicated situation and the problems that have arisen more effectively by operating solely from positions of power. Such views often overlook the idea which Tito expressed long ago that the League of Communists must stand aloof in a critical sense from the state and power if it is not to become separated from the working class," Bilic said.

The second contradiction, and it is also becoming more acute, is manifested in the concentration of decisionmaking on vital issues of development in the hands of quite small and separate groups instead of the working people. "The basic question here is whether the League of Communists will merge with those structures or will in its social action rely on the workers and ever more direct forms of socialist self-management and development of the delegate system as a whole. Then the League of Communists is rightly criticized and there is a growing constructive dissatisfaction of the self-managing worker base with the status quo, and its responsibility is all the greater because it is not always managing to effectively remove and recognize in practice the danger of the power and influence of technocratic structures and very widespread tendencies toward bureaucratization of the life of society as a whole."

The League of Communists, the unified political organization of the working class of Yugoslavia, is at the same time the leading ideological and political force of the various nationalities and ethnic minorities and the most responsible political and ideological vehicle for cohesion of the Yugoslav socialist self-managing community. "The League of Communists is showered with cases of

ethnic encapsulation and tendencies of particularism, and indeed even cases of separatistic activity on the one hand, while on the other it is confronted by tendencies to restore and reestablish bureaucratic centralism, to restore unitarianism, which all taken together is jeopardizing the degree of ethnic equality achieved and threatening Yugoslavia's sense of community.

"The complicated and contradictory position of the League of Communists is also expressed in the fact that at the same time it figures as the creator and guarantor of the present system of socialist self-management and as the critic of the present solutions and achievements," Jure Bilic said in his introductory report. In that sense its vanguard role does not consist solely of guaranteeing stability and functioning of the institutional and normative solutions which have been adopted, "but above all in its creative ability to change the status quo and to react with current changes to the new challenges and to find the right answers to the complicated problems and difficulties. This contradiction is manifested in the tendency toward formal innovation, which replaces the need to change reality with a change of the norms, that is, with paper changes, and in the useful [?] defense of almost every practical solution and mechanism of political activity. The League of Communists is thereby relinquishing the power to open up future prospects for democracy and self-management in socialist development, nor is it managing to effectively resolve the existing problems."

A Critical Note

The fifth objectively contradictory social role of the League of Communists is expressed in the fact that as the political organization of a minority, because of its historical responsibility and the achievements already made, it also figures as the ideological and political force of a majority of the masses of people. It is very important that the League of Communists, especially in difficult times, be aware of the fact that the creation and winning over of a majority in the class and the people is not something granted in advance and established for all time, but must continually be earned again.

Also very important to the party is the knowledge that the level of ideological and social homogeneity in its ranks is not a mechanical and constant quantity resistant to change and to be taken for granted. All the fundamental social contradictions are reflected and refracted in the LCY, and at the same time all the ideological-political tendencies, all the differences, divisions and lineups of forces within the League of Communists are directly manifested as contradictions in a broader social framework.

The very pronounced critical note, unusual in its form and potency, distinguish not only the introductory address, but also the theses which served as the basis and inspiration for the party discussion, nor was the debate in the conference itself sparing in its critical edge. But by contrast with the address, which relied on firm facts, often backed up with figures, and scientifically founded assertions, the discussion was in large part, but not in its best part, a portrayal of "how things are with us." This kind of discussion is irresistibly reminiscent of bright postcards with pictures of specific individual concerns from particular places; take as an example "solving the problem of the Ricice Dam with accompanying facilities." To be sure, it is in

such small little pictures that one best verifies the firmness and soundness of the assessments expressed in the ambitious documents. On this occasion one thing they confirmed was that the cup of gall which this society is drinking off at this time has not bypassed the League of Communists; that is, to put it more simply so that we are not misunderstood, if the situation in society is unsatisfactory, the condition of the League of Communists cannot be any better. There is no need to discuss here what brought this about, but there is in any case an irrefutable connection between the situation in society and the situation in the party.

But neither the discussion among the party membership during the preparations of the First Conference of the Croatian LC, nor the course of the conference itself revealed any new problems and dilemmas, they did not call into question the basic views and assessments uttered to date in party congresses and in meetings of the Croatian LC Central Committee. As noted by Ivica Segota, "all the problems and all the topics in the discussion have been raised before, and also the conclusions adopted previously could only be renewed at this point. Probably there are differences only in nuances and emphasis, but in a meaningful sense they did not open up new problems." The demand of Zvonimir Novak is characteristic in this context; he expressed the view of many delegations to the effect that we "do not need new resolutions, but rather the conference should set forth mobilization measures and methods of work which will guarantee consistent implementation of what has been agreed." This discussion made a very important contribution to the future action of the LC precisely because it puts problems of methods in the foreground, problems, which as Segota said, are the key problems of our party today. The problems do not lie in the content of the party's effort, nor in its programmatic orientation: we know quite well that what we need to do does not lie in the organizational structure of the LC, but rather the problems lie in the ideological sphere, in the ability of LC members and in their method of operation. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia is a specific political organization, it is neither a mass party nor a cadre party, though it has elements of both, and it must also develop specific methods of operation. Edvard Kardelj called attention to that some 5 years ago and explicitly insisted on it, but on the whole we have not taken this as an urgent problem. We have not developed methods of operation sufficiently either within the League of Communists or for the League of Communists to use vis-a-vis the self-managing structures of society. It was therefore proposed that a professional and all-inclusive discussion be conducted not only concerning the methods of operation of the Central Committee, as requested by Venceslav Kovacevic, but also about the methods of operation of the entire League of Communists.

Towing

From the introductory address by Jure Bilic, in which he said that "we need a party of honest and devoted people whom all the working people and citizens will trust" all the way to the final statement by Josip Vrhovec, almost all the 60 some statements in the discussion were shot through with demands for greater responsibility, insistence on the moral image of the party member, and the word "differentiation" resounded very frequently from the speaker's platform. Even in the preliminary discussions the party members devoted most attention of all to the activities and behavior of members of the party.

Yet, it was said, one should not conclude from the fact that more attention was paid to the negative aspects that in reality the negative forms of behavior are predominant, but it is beyond doubt that they are powerfully present in many areas of society. A great many assessments were expressed from the speaker's platform concerning "individuals" and "certain people" who by their uncommunist, immoral, and indeed even unlawful and criminal behavior are destroying the prestige of the party, and there were somewhat more specific statements from communities which recently have had to concern themselves with such cases. Those who do not belong to the party are today being towed along on the still indisputable general authority of the League of Communists, certain basic organizations are being towed along, and indeed even certain leadership bodies, which are not a vanguard, but, as someone aptly put it, the rear guard of the working class. The longer the party allows them to work to its detriment and to the detriment of society, the more the prestige and authority of the League of Communists will suffer.

The leading force of the League of Communists does not lie in "its boasting that that is what it is, nor in its thinking that it is, nor in the fact that the constitution has vested in it such-and-such a role and position," but rather its strength depends on the extent to which it actually, truly, in reality, is an organic part of the everyday and long-range interests of the working class and an integral part of society. The party is not satisfied with its own condition, least of all at the present moment for that eternal reason that something better should always be aspired to. Once again, then, it has spoken out about itself in critical terms and pointed to its own weaknesses and shortcomings, but "not so that we might become concerned with ourselves, but so that by more resolute correction of all the shortcomings in our work we might equip ourselves for still more consistent and successful performance of that social and historical task which the League of Communists has as the vanguard of the working class, as the worker party which even in this difficult phase of our life must confirm that it belongs to the working class, to all our nationalities and ethnic minorities, as a true revolutionary and progressive force" (Josip Vrhovec).

It is yet to be seen whether the conference, the first, but only one in a number of meetings at which we have pledged ourselves to self-management, socialism and communistic behavior--was also an effective working agreement.

7045
CSO: 2800/326

ROLE OF PARTY QUESTIONED AT MARXIST CENTER MEETING

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11-12 Jun 83 p 5

[Article by Jovan Radovanovic and Vojislava Vignjevic: "Between the Facts and the Labels"]

[Text] "Communists are not some separate party vis-a-vis other worker parties. They do not have any interests separate from the interests of the entire proletariat.

"Communists differ from the other proletarian parties only in that on the one hand in the various national struggles of proletarians they emphasize and follow the common interests of the entire proletariat which are independent of nationality, and the other in that at the various stages of development through which the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie passes, they always stand for the interests of the entire movement."

These lines, written 135 years ago, even today stimulate discussions of the place and role of communist parties in the working class movement. You have guessed that these sentences are from the Communist Manifesto, an exceptional document of scientific-political prose, from the literary standpoint one of the finest writings of Marx and Engels.

The disputes, then, have lasted more than a century, in our own contemporary political situation they have come down to a question which is annoying and provoking us, to a question we are seeking to answer both in theory and practice as to how much the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is (has become) a party in power (a party of order), and how much is it (has it remained) the vanguard of the working class?

Questions, Questions

In the disputation there, of course, opinions and views which come down on the one or the other side, there is a critical exploration for the social-historical causes, to a small extent the very question is even disputed a bit from a rigid and offended viewpoint, and only in recent years has this been talked about more and more, with increasing frankness and more and more criticism, with more argumentation based on scientific research, and less pinning on of political labels and exclusiveness. Nor is it possible here to get around our

own most frequently quoted political document--the LCY Program--precisely because voices are heard more and more frequently which propose its revision, accompanied by the remark that over the fourth of a century since the program was written both society and the party have undergone such changes that innovations--at least in certain parts--are indispensable.

All of this indicates that the very sociopolitical and economic situation is creating conditions or beginning to speak in different ways than the customary ones about constant reassessment of the relationship between the party and the class.

One attempt of that kind was the discussion at the beginning of this week in the Marxist Center of the Serbian LC Central Committee. In placing on the agenda the topic "The LCY--Party in Power or Avant-garde," a group of Yugoslav political scientists, sociologists and politicians attempted to find answers to numerous questions: To what extent can the LC operate today as an ideological and political authority without (at least temporarily) distancing itself from government power; what is the relationship between the party and the class, and to what extent is the class today the protagonist of revolutionary changes; is the LC the leading segment of the working class, and, if so, to what extent; is it possible for a new worker base representing the new social relationship to be born from a new social movement for self-management; what part does democratization of the LC have in democratization of society, and so on, and so on?

The inspirational basis for the discussion was Andjelka Milic's study entitled "Open Questions Concerning Performance of the Vanguard Role of the League of Communists."

A Rhetorical Dilemma

To be brief, in the postwar period the relationship between the vanguard and the class was established and has been maintained through various go-between institutions: first through the centralized state, then through creation of self-management "as the vehicle of its own resignation from power," and more recently, by decentralization of the government, between the class and the party "there have come on the scene a great number of social mediators--from the opstina, then regional quasi-governmental, to republic-provincial state-national institutions of government power." This entire development and development of the relation between the class and the vanguard within its framework can be summed up as a process in which the party has been constantly generating a large number of institutional intermediaries and placing them between itself and the class, Milic stresses. This loss of direct connection would then be stressed by many of the participants in the debate as one of the most serious shortcomings which as a practical matter stand in the way of performance of the vanguard role of the LCY today unless there are essential and radical changes.

At present the League of Communists operates more through the mind of the Central Committee than through the vanguardism of its membership, Slobodan Inic said. We have an LC in the form of a leadership which displays poor

representativeness, which thinks and acts in the name of the class, and all of this is pushing the LC toward some kind of Messianic role in society.

The dilemma between the LC as a party in power or as a vanguard is well put in rhetorical terms, but in actual reality it is not the essential question, since the essential question is whether the LC is creating conditions for the withering away of the state, Petar Zivadinovic believes. The LC is reaffirming its vanguard role in the best way through the work of the Krajger Commission. Questioning the LC as a vanguard on the basis of the LCY Program signifies today advocacy of some of the vanguard, and this is worth thinking about, regardless of how much this might sound like dogmatism to some people.

The key question is not whether the LC is the party in power or the vanguard, but what kind of power that is and what is its orientation, was the view of Silvana Bolcic. The LC has demonstrated itself to be the pillar of support and foundation for the stability of the system, though it can be criticized for not having had enough ability to guarantee stable social development on the foundations of the socialist alternative. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia, like it or not, must operate today not only as a vanguard of the working class, but also as the vanguard of society.

This view has generated a debate, as has the opinion of Slobodan Inic to the effect that awareness of socialist values in society has grown to such an extent that one can no longer speak about reviving the vanguardism of the LC in the old way, not because in its organization the LCY "has fallen nearly a half century behind," but because society has risen to the level of the party and no longer has a need for the LC to convince it of those values.

Kardelj, Bakaric and ...

The debate actually opened up for fair with the challenges presented unsparingly by Slobodan Inic. The meeting, which up to that point leaned a bit toward the monologue, began to turn into a debate after his presentation.

Socialism was not invented by the Communist Party, Inic said. That is one thing which we acknowledged when we accepted the possibility of different roads to socialism. The Eurocommunists, especially the Spanish CP, have gone even further in recognizing that at a certain moment of history other worker parties may be ahead of the communists in leading toward socialism.

Speaking to the question of whether the LC is a party in power, Inic recalled that the 6th congress the Communist Party "intended to give up power," but there is little talk of this today, but rather that period is solely related to attempts at Social-Democratization of the party and to the showdown with the Social Democrats.

Inic concluded his critically intoned presentation with an observation related to discussions about the party as a collective thinker to the effect that it is indicative that our recent authors of good books (on politics) have been Kardelj and Bakaric, though debate concerning their writings was not allowed since they claimed to be the system. Today in this respect there are no

thinking people in the leadership of the party and government who by the power of their pen and ideas recall to any extent the glorious tradition of communist figures, philosophers of both intellect and action. There have been industrious, able and intelligent people, but not people with the strength to discover new perspectives and vistas of the socialist revolution.

These views were opposed most directly by Ivo Paic, Petar Zivadinovic, Milenko Markovic and Gojko Stanic.

The assertion that the 6th LCY Congress signified its stepping down from power is naive to say the least, since that was the time of the military and economic blockade, and no party would step down from power at such a time. Paic was resolute in saying that this did not fit with the historical facts. I agree that the vanguardism of the LC is exhausted, but do not agree with the assertion that it has passed over into the self-managing population, since all the empirical research indicates that people's faith in certain achievements we considered uncontested, such as socialism, the nationality, etc., has been seriously shaken. "I do indeed favor fierce criticism of the LC, since it deserves it, but that criticism must be objective, free of leftwing or rightwing overlays. We must also be mindful of the renascence of conservative theory about the impossibility of ruling. However, so far the criticism of the LC has gone no further than the surface, than the phenomenological level."

... the Truth About Their Writings

Turning to Inic's remarks to the effect that the one-party system does not facilitate a true and open competition of differing views, although they do exist within the system, Milenko Markovic wondered whether the multiparty system is the sole condition for development of democracy. Present-day socialism, it is true, does know of one-party systems which inevitably end up in some kind of bureaucratic dictatorship, but it also knows of the Yugoslav example, which even the most inveterate opponents acknowledge to have opened up certain new possibilities in the development of democracy.

It is not proper to say that aside from Kardelj and Bakaric we do not have worthwhile theoreticians, nor to say that their writings could not be discussed, Zivadinovic mentioned. It is well known, and the archives would confirm it, that Kardelj more than once made extensive changes of his writings after broad discussions.

We have heard that there is no longer a need for a vanguard and that the self-managers themselves are out in front of the vanguard. However critical of the LC I may be, Stanic said, "I do not know what subjective force it is that has been working and is today working to carry out the revolutionary program if it is not the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The work of the Krajger Commission is the best evidence of this, and other evidence is who is resisting its conceptions for the way out of the socioeconomic crisis and in whose name that resistance is being offered.

Andjelka Milic, who did not agree with these opinions, said that one can hardly accept the LC as the paradigm of a vanguard. The League of Communists

is not that at this moment, but it is true that it is the dominant political force, and without it there is no way out. It is another question how much vision the LC has for solving problems which it itself caused. Put simply, Milic said, we dare not fall into the pitfall of making a myth of the party. Although it is true that in the work of the Krajger Commission the LC did manage to detect where the sources of the problems were, we dare not forget that this work took place behind closed doors, that the public and the membership of the LC received only scanty reports on that work. There is no debate, and that is why I think it will be difficult to stir the membership of the LC to action out of its state of paralysis.

Let us also record quite briefly Nikola Viskovic's reply to Vjeran Katunarić's question as to what the party's legitimacy is today, since in his opinion it is exhausted and since the seventies the LC has by and large become a regulator of relations among the nationalities. Acknowledging that the LCY has been the most successful in the world in resolving the nationality problem, Katunarić says that this is an exceptional source of its power, since the nationality "quotas" are the only thing in the system which functioned irreproachably.

Viskovic replied that one cannot forget that the basic source of legitimacy of every revolutionary organization, including the LCY, is the revolution itself. Other auxiliary forms of legitimacy such as the leader's charisma, the charisma of the program, and traditional motives, have become weaker. The legitimacy of power in consumer societies is guaranteed by the steady growth of the population's standard of living, on which our system was also based in previous years. Nevertheless, the LC retains that revolutionary form of legitimacy as the strongest one, since the possibility of a change in the position of the proletarianized masses remains open.

We conclude these notes, limited by space in the paper and in which we have given more space to those who were not mentioned in our daily report (BORBA, 7 June) with Zoran Vidojević's remarks on what was not said on this occasion. There was little talk about the pauperization of the working class and the role of the party, though this is not a marginal issue. Little about the differing interests within the LC and the contradictions which are thus generated. Confusing sometimes the vanguard with the elite, it was not stated clearly enough that it can base its legitimacy only on the support of the working masses, which also signifies opening up the possibility for their direct influence, for creation of instruments for effective conventional monitoring of the government; otherwise the very model of self-management, however much it might be modernized, will suffer failure.

We believe the conversation on that subject is just beginning.

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CSO: 2800/335

YUGOSLAVIA

ACADEMICIAN RATKOVIC DISCUSSES INTRAPARTY DISPUTES

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 238, 9 Apr 83 pp 16-17

[Interview with Dr Radoslav Ratkovic, professor in the School of Political Science at Belgrade University, director of the Political Studies Institute and deputy chairman of the Commission for Constitutional Affairs of the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, by Branislav Kovacic: "Is the LCY Program a Good One"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "The administrative and legal coercion of the government, the state, is all the stronger if the sociopolitical organizations--especially the LCY-- are less successful in pacifying by democratic means the conflict among the particular interests that stream through organizations of associated labor and the delegate system.

"And dress up partial interests in the trappings of the general public interest."

This statement was recently made by Dr Radoslav Ratkovic, a lecturer in a lecture series on the Yugoslav political system at Kolarcev People's University in Belgrade. His subject was the sociopolitical organizations.

He was born in 1921 in Titovo Uzice, and he received his doctorate in legal science in 1962. He has been a full professor in the School of Political Science at Belgrade University since 1968.

He holds the Order of Brotherhood and Unity with gold wreath and the 7 July Prize of SR Serbia for his contribution to the development of political science. He is the author of some 15 books and pamphlets and more than 50 lengthy scholarly articles.

He is today director of the Political Studies Institute and deputy chairman of the Commission for Constitutional Affairs of the Assembly of SR Serbia.

He is not a speaker who fires up the imagination and passions of the public; his sentences are cool and rational.

Interference on the Communications Lines

[Question] It is your view that sociopolitical organizations have five functions in our political system--dynamic, democratic, ideological, integrative and mobilizing--and that a number of critical observations can be made about the so-called subjective factor. Where have the sociopolitical organizations--especially the LCY--fallen down?

[Answer] The LCY has not been sufficiently present in organizations of associated labor, especially in OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor], there where the important decisions are made in view of the constitutional and legal powers.

The LCY has also had difficulties getting its bearings in the delegate system, in the delegate assemblies.

The influence on delegate chambers which originate in organizations of associated labor depends on the activity of the LCY in organizations of associated labor. The LCY has had negligible influence on the chambers of associated labor. The LCY should have influenced the sociopolitical chambers in assemblies in a specific way. Those chambers are a factor which give decisionmaking a strategic dimension--a perspective that is socialist in character. The practice of the sociopolitical chambers in the first convocations has proven to be defective. Here the delegate base--the working people in sociopolitical organizations--has been left without influence.

[Question] There has been frequent criticism blaming the Socialist Alliance for behaving exclusively as a "forum" organization.

[Answer] The faults of the SAWPY depend on the forces which make it up. It is also up to them to make the SAWP an organizational form for unity and for channeling society's entire energy in the direction of the development of democratic and socialist relations. An inactive SAWP narrows the political activities of every citizen, as it does democratic life, social criticism and discussion concerning all social issues. The SAWP was conceived as an organization for the broadest political expression, a kind of parliament representing the entire people. But....

[Question] Which former members of the LCY and which individuals, let us take a hypothetical case, could not be members of the Socialist Alliance?

[Answer] All individuals who enjoy the rights guaranteed by our constitutional order can participate in the work of the Socialist Alliance.

[Question] Certain theorists say that the time has come for Yugoslav society to be organized as a system of workers' councils. They also say that the trade union has been broken up--OOUR-ized--and that it is not functioning as a unified organization. Does the trade union retain all its protective functions even in a self-managing system? Even the strike, let us say?

[Answer] The initial premise of these remarks is the view of a uniform organization of the society of self-management. Organization is seen exclusively in one dimension. But because we recognize a pluralism of interests and needs in self-management, Yugoslav society, even in the institutional and organizational sense, must be pluralistic. The opposite views are in effect saying: there is no need for the state, no need for sociopolitical organizations, and the principal blow is aimed against the League of Communists.

Yugoslav society organized exclusively in one form as a system of workers' councils from bottom to top, with a single workers' council at the top, would actually unify the bureaucracy, would concentrate it to a horrifying degree.

[Question] Can we go back to the trade union?

[Answer] The trade unions retain their customary protective functions insofar as this is necessary from the standpoint of the broader interests of individual segments of the working class and the general interests of the working class as a whole. The trade union protects the working class against bureaucratic deformations, technocracy and other pressures.

From a Minority to a Faction

[Question] No discussion of a communist party can get around the question of democratic centralism. How do you look on this question from the standpoint of theory and practice in the League of Communists?

[Answer] In our own discussions of democratic centralism, especially those conducted since 1948--after the break with the elements of Stalinist theory and practice--this principle has been affirmed in the original meaning which Lenin gave it: a struggle of opinions precedes the taking of the decision (this was neglected in Stalinism), but particular attention has been paid to minority opinion.

When decisions are made through a contest of opinions that covers all angles, then it follows that there will be a division into the majority and the minority. The consequence of this principle is that the minority must abide by the decision of the majority even though it advocated a view that was not adopted.

[Question] But must the minority change its opinion?

[Answer] Adoption of the decision signifies that the minority is not to operate in its actual behavior against the decision of the majority and is to contribute to its implementation. The party is not a religious organization, nor a religious faith, and those who have been left in the minority need not alter their opinion.

They can retain their opinion, but they must not strive to implement it.

Wherever there is a division into the majority and the minority, the organization must draw certain conclusions. The organization resorts to a distribution of personnel in which those who have supported the majority opinion take

the most responsible posts which are decisive to carrying out that opinion. Those who have supported the minority opinion ought not to be at the helm in carrying out the action. After all, in that way we would easily get a homo duplex, and this would not be advisable from the standpoint of effective action.

In our case there has been insistence on the right to retain opinions--even when they have been left in the minority--in order to protect the intellectual integrity of the members and the freedom and right to defend their own opinion.

There is the right to critical thought, along with the simultaneous guarantee that that right and freedom do not shatter the unity of the party and its ability to act. This is protection against tyranny over opinion.

[Question] What is that critical point where the minority takes shape as a faction?

[Answer] It would institute itself as a faction if it did not accept the decision of the majority and if it strove to thwart that decision. Then the minority would have remained in the positions which did not receive support and would be carrying out its own opinion: with agitation, propaganda and organization. The existence of a faction presupposes the freedom to conduct an organized effort on a platform opposed to the decisions which have been adopted.

The criterion for determining that critical point should be sought in practice. Otherwise this question would become a scholastic one.

[Question] What in your opinion have been the issues in the postwar history of the CPY and LCY that brought a sharp division into minority and majority?

[Answer] Discussions have been especially keen just before the congresses. Views have differed, there was no consensus on the economic system, on politics and development, on the political system and cultural policy. But the formation of factions never occurred. Because such situations in which there was a sharp division of the majority and minority were mainly cleared up in good time.

Just in advance of the 8th LCY Congress in 1964 differing views flared up concerning the economic system and development in the theoretical journals, in meetings and in forums of the LCY. This had to do with the so-called economic and social reform--creation of the material foundation for self-management. The organizations of associated labor were supposed to take command of the public capital used for investments. That capital was disposed of by the state from the Federation to the opstina. One current in the LCY felt that the leading and guiding role of the party would be weakened thereby. We usually refer to that current as the statist and conservative one. The denouement came at the fourth plenum in 1966, when Aleksandar Rankovic was removed from office and the decision was taken to set about reorganizing the League of Communists in order to bring its position and role into line with the development of self-management.

At the 21st Meeting of the LCY Central Committee in 1971, through application of the principle of democratic centralism and intervention of the supreme authority in the League of Communists, a critical assessment was made of the factional activity of a group of party leaders in the Croatian League of Communists. Political and personnel measures were undertaken. Many leaders were removed who had been responsible for a political course opposed to the programmatic commitments and general line of the LCY.

The deviations in policy of a portion of the party leadership in Serbia and Slovenia in 1972, which led to the removal of certain people in those leadership bodies, are well known.

The policy in the Kosovo League of Communists which resulted in counterrevolutionary processes was recently referred to as mistaken.

There Is No Monolithic Consensus

[Question] In your opinion has the LCY honored the principle of personnel policy whereby the people advocating the opinion adopted take up the most responsible posts?

[Answer] That principle has been implemented in most of the cases of intervention against ideological and political deviations from the conceptions of the LCY. Those who have abandoned the program and the platform have been expelled from the ranks of the League of Communists. Wherever it was a question of deviations in the conduct of policy, members of the LCY were removed from positions of leadership. However, the view can be taken that in certain cases this personnel principle has not been implemented with sufficient consistency, all-inclusiveness and determination.

[Question] Our political life is now rather open and transparent. There are differences which are manifested through the statements and writings of leaders in the LC, and we are also witnesses to differences in certain forms of the LCY. How do you evaluate the ability of the League of Communists to act?

[Answer] The question is whether all those differences should be regarded as something undesirable?

Certain differences in conception are a normal occurrence and ought not to disturb anyone. We have to get accustomed to that as a phenomenon.

But aside from differing views, there are also opposed views in the League of Communists. For instance: opposed--essentially different--views on such issues as the law of value and the market, and then concerning the domains of the government in our system, or concerning more specific issues such as the regulation of the foreign exchange system, the question of whether some event in culture is a manifestation of hostile action or not. Opposed views ought not to be tolerated in the League of Communists. Those views lead to differences in behavior, advocacy of opposed solutions and policies.

Such expressions of disunity in the League of Communists fall outside the limits of natural differences in a democratic society and make it impossible to perform the guiding and integrative function of the League of Communists.

[Question] Certain theorists say that the LCY has opted for a contradictory role: it is both a party in power--a party of order--and also the party for superseding the political sphere.

[Answer] In principle the matter is clear: it is neither a party in power nor a party in the struggle for power, but a party in a system in which political power is withering away.

Aside from the self-management forms of organization and aside from the socio-political and public organizations, the state is also an integral part of our political system and has been throughout the entire transitional period. In our case the state is not the force of some counterclass or of some element alien to the working class. This is a state which has risen up out of a socialist revolution.

Wherever the state withdraws from regulating the flows in society, there the insistence on retaining the guiding role of the state would be conservative. Wherever regulation of the flows in society is being passed on to the bodies of self-management--there is no need nor point for the party to support a state which has lost the space in which to act.

The LCY should strive to perform its function of guiding the flows in society through its influence on those bodies in which decisions are made: be they in the self-management system or in the government.

The separation of the party from power--both in terms of personnel and organization--does not signify that the League of Communists is no longer mindful of political power and the state.

[Question] What do you think about the view of certain theorists to the effect that the time has come to amend the LCY Program? Or about the assertions that this program has been forgotten, "pushed out of the way"?

[Answer] I agree with the assertions that the program has been neglected. However, this is a document of exceptional importance. Such a document can come into being only at certain moments of development when the movement gets that kind of inspiration to set forth in a powerful and condensed way important new views concerning the new conditions of social development in the world.

Let us not forget the most important postulates of the program: the conception of socialism as a world process, the foundations of active and peaceful coexistence and the assessment of international relations. Nor are the conclusions superseded or outdated concerning the originality of our road to socialism: the unified course of the struggle for national and class--socialist--liberation, the road from state socialism to free association of producers through the forms of self-management, the attitude of the party toward

Marxism, the decisive line of demarcation from ideological monopoly--the party's claim to be arbiter in matters of science, theory and art (accompanied by the warning that political activity under the guise of science, theory and art are to be dealt with by political means).

These views are the guiding principles for dispelling the types of confusion we have had. They can protect us from unacceptable dogmatic and sectarian views, but also from conceptions according to which the League of Communists ought to have no interest or role whatsoever in the ideological and cultural sphere.

[Question] How, then, do you view the proposals for amendment of the LCY Program?

[Answer] These proposals are altogether unfounded and problematical. After all, we are not talking about a current program, but of a program which is adopted for the entire era. The program contains ideological guidelines for future progressive actions as well as criteria for evaluation of what has been achieved.

Proposals for amending the program are problematical because they arouse suspicion that there might be a desire to call into question the basic orientation and ideological and theoretical foundations of the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BANJA LUKA COMMUNISTS DISCUSS NATIONALIST GROUPS

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jun 83 p 3

[Text] The organized forces of socialism headed by the League of Communists have in this area unmasked and condemned various anti-self-management and anti-socialist manifestations and tendencies. The system of general national defense and social self-protection must be developed more intensively.

Communists and all organized forces of socialism, the working class, working people and citizens in the intercommunal region of Banja Luka are more firmly convinced that only such a system of general national defense and social protection as is being developing in our society, can fully guarantee our freedom, independence and peaceful socialist self-managing social development. Considering today's organizational level, preparation and activity of the organizations and organs of the LC in the ONO and DSZ system has a greater significance since it occurs at the moment when various anti-self-management and antisocialist forces have stepped out openly on to the political scene. These statements were expressed at yesterday's meeting of the Intercommunal Conference of the League of Communists of Banja Luka attended by Petar Dodik, member of the presidency of the SRBH, Rahmija Kadenic, member of the Statutory Commission of the LCY and Jovo Miskovic, president of the CC LCBH for ONO and DSZ.

Recently, the League of Communists of this area, together with other organized forces of socialism, has promptly preceived the questions of the further development of socialist self-management socio-economic relations, carrying out of the policies of social development and economic stabilization, as well as all other very important questions concerning the development of individual communes and the intercommunal region as a whole. Although, significant results have been achieved, this intercommunal region lags behind in relation to the republic's development and has encountered numerous difficulties, especially following the August 1981 earthquake.

Various anti-self-management and antisocialist forces, which have intensified their activity in the country and republic, are appearing also in this region. Recently, the activity of several Muslim, Croatian, Serbian and Albanian nationalist groups has been uncovered and eliminated. Religious-nationalist activity is also becoming more and more aggressive. The basic premises of the socialist revolution are being openly attacked and people are working to undermine the constitution of the established order. Anti-communism, moreover, is one of the basic characteristics of their overall activity. The organized forces of socialism with the League of Communists at the head, even in this region have clearly condemned the anti-self-management and antisocialist manifestations and tendencies.

The activity of two groups, linked to a group of young Muslims recently exposed in Sarajevo, was uncovered and thwarted in this region. These groups attempted to work in Banja Luka and Bosanska Gradiška. The activity of Professor Ivan Pletikosa and his group was thwarted in Banja Luka, but was energetically resisted even by some unacceptable behavior with nationalist and other motives in the Law Faculty in Banja Luka.

We can be satisfied with the growth in the efficiency of the organs, judicial and otherwise which uncover and pursue such activities. Just last year around 1,400 people have been or are being indicted for the criminal act of damaging public property. They have caused damages amounting to around 130 million dinars. As initiators of these criminal acts are most often shop foremen, warehousemen, accountants and cashiers especially in those circles where self-management has been slowed down. This must be a result of the sluggish and unfinished work methods of the League of Communists. This attests to the fact that despite the excellent overall results, the League of Communists has not in all circles fulfilled its leading ideological-political role in securing the broad creative activity of all organs, organizations and delegate bodies, social organizations and citizen associations, and especially, in the OOURs and local associations.

Being occupied with the present ideological-political questions of general national defense and social self-protection in the intercommunal region of Banja Luka, the MOC LC has concluded that the League of Communists must pay further attention to self-protection. Also, the building up of the ONO and DSZ systems is inseparable from the total development of our country.

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CSO: 2800/317

YUGOSLAVIA

WESTERN JOURNALIST VIEWS SITUATION IN KOSOVO

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Jun 83 p 9

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Albanians in Kosovo Are Waiting: Yugoslavia Misses Its Chance"]

[Text] Pristina, June--In one of the villages near Podujevo, one of the centers of the Kosovo revolt in spring 1981, we unexpectedly run into a general police control point. Every vehicle is searched with electronic instruments like those used in airports. Even the luggage is being checked. Apparently the police officers are looking for weapons and explosives. They are also interested in the printed matter and the books that we are carrying. It seems that the "normality" of which we had officially been assured prior to our visit does not apply to Kosovo. Not long ago all telephone and telex connections within and to the region were interrupted for several days due to an act of sabotage in the main telephone and telegraph office of Pristina, and across the street from the new Grand Hotel an explosion took place. Albanian schoolboys who are on recess are watching the police control with amusement and they do not hide their satisfaction when the police cannot find anything. Finally the teachers send them away. Apparently they want to prevent incidents. Within a few years, when these young Albanians will be a little older, they will dominate because of their sheer number. Everywhere one goes in Kosovo, one runs into large droves of children. Urosevac (Ferizaj), another center of disturbances and a regional school center, has 10,000 high school and college students among its population of 40,000.

To be sure, compared with last year, the interest in demonstrations among the politically oriented population seems to have subsided. Now young people are panting slogans on streets and houses only occasionally. When they get caught, they land in prison for 3 or more months. On the other hand, their determination has become more pronounced to demonstrate political strength to achieve equality for the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, which is approaching the 2-million mark. It means the establishment of a separate republic. "They should leave us alone" is what we hear. There is no evidence of irredentism. We are told that the Albanian authorities sent back a large number of the 50 to 100 young people who fled to the land of Enver Hoxha following the disturbances and also later particularly those who came from well-to-do houses, for instance, sons of farmers who own 10 hectares of land and a tractor. It shows that the regime in Tirana is afraid of the Kosovars, and fears that they

might contribute to the ideological softening of Enver Hoxha's government. This attitude would not be very useful as a basis for an irredentist policy. It is true that the comments coming from Tirana about Yugoslavia are not very friendly. Nevertheless, if the regime were actually practicing irredentism, it would have to alter its attitude. Things could change if a more pragmatic government were to follow Enver Hoxha's regime in Tirana and if the emphasis were on more openness and on national unity instead of class struggle. At the present time we do not hear anything positive about Enver Hoxha from the Albanians in Kosovo, whether they are young or old. It seems that today's Kosovo Albanians are more single-minded and more unified than they were a year ago and that they are only concerned with regulations concerning their position within Yugoslavia.

Belgrade Obstinate Clinging to Unreal Positions

Does this constellation not present a great opportunity for Yugoslavia? One gets the impression that it is thrown away. Yugoslavia's official policy is obstinately clinging to totally unreal positions when it comes to two crucial questions. First of all, it is holding on to the legend of Tirana's irredentism. In light of this attitude, all expressions of Albanian nationalism seem to be inspired from the outside and as such they are considered treasonous. At any rate, the regime is again using more frequently the words "enemy" and "foreign centers," which allegedly are aiming at "destabilizing" Yugoslavia. Second, Belgrade is just as determined when it says that there must not be a "Kosovo republic" and even less a republic of all the Albanians living in Yugoslavia. An Albanian national and government politician told us in Skopje that the question of the republic is not important at all and, besides, the Albanians did not want it either. Apparently he thinks a priori that all foreign journalists are dumb. According to him, what is important is the "practical participation by Albanians in the establishment of socialism."

In Slovenia it is considered quite an accomplishment that this very socialism made it possible for all Slovenes to live in a state community for the first time in history, but apparently different standards apply to the Albanians. The categorical rejection of the idea of a separate republic is very peculiar, because even those Albanians who occupy the most prominent positions in Kosovo advocated a Kosovo republic in past years when addressing small and large groups, and until the disturbances occurred in 1981 the region enjoyed the same rights as a Yugoslav regional republic. It referred to itself as a "constitutive factor" and most of the time it dealt directly with the federal authorities and not through the republic of Serbia. Now it seems that the authorities of the region have been curtailed. Especially the Serbs who live in Kosovo prefer to go directly to the presidium of the republic of Serbia. They like, above all, to deal with Gen Ljubicic, who issues guidelines as if the regional organs did not exist at all.

Although on the outside everything seems quiet at the moment, Albanian nationalists feel that things are developing in their favor. They have time; they can wait. One of their most important objectives is the creation of an

"ethnically pure," in other words, pure Albanian Kosovo, and the reality of this ambition is getting closer every day. According to POLITICA, the number of Serbs and Montenegrins who leave Kosovo is estimated at 400 per month, and their share of the total population is now probably no more than 15 percent. To be sure, we are told officially in Pristina that the migration is primarily motivated by economic reasons and less by political concerns, but political groups in Serbia seem to be of a different opinion. It appears that a Serb can only live securely and more or less comfortably if he lives in a larger Serbian community, in other words, in one of the cities or a fairly compact Serbian village. But even there are problems: the planned construction of a slaughterhouse is a Serbian village which belongs to the community of Gnjilane has lately attracted much attention and become a big political issue.

Even the economic development is playing more and more into the hands of Albanian nationalists. Economic conditions in Kosovo are in poor shape and because of the increasing pressure from the population it is not expected that the situation will improve soon. To be sure, the young, neatly dressed graduates who are celebrating their graduation in Pristina's Grand Hotel are proof of the emancipatory progress of the Albanian society, but the sad thing about it is that for a large number of these young people the graduation celebration does not signify the entry into the job market but into unemployment. Officially the number of registered unemployed persons in Kosovo stands at 70,000. Between 30 and 40 percent of them have no other source of income except their ability to work. The number of the hidden unemployed should be much higher. They simply disappear in extended families. The Albanians are more and more inclined to blame the poor shape of the economy on the Yugoslav regime and those politicians who are at the disposal of this regime. A clever whispering campaign is spreading the word that everything would be better if the Albanians were left to govern themselves. As a matter of fact, even a foreign observer can see without difficulty that there have been many instances of neglect and many mistakes. There is still no orderly plan for buying agricultural products, and even in Macedonia private initiative has a freer hand than it does in Kosovo. Today there are houses in Kosovo that do not even have any bread left.

The Belgrade regime is relying more and more exclusively on Albanian politicians. In the eyes of the population they wear the stigma of national disloyalty; consequently, they do not have much authority. Apparently some of them hope that the current policy will prepare them for a national Yugoslav career. Frequently they are noted for their radical behavior. On the day we spoke with Azem Vlais, the current secretary of the city of Pristina, he had four members of the Historical Institute of the university expelled from the party. Measures like that create hatred. The Albanians live in clans, and every sentence affects a large group of people. We are told that almost all of the federal militia units were withdrawn and replaced by specially training local units. But the uniformed Albanian policemen seem to be very much concerned about a good relationship with the population. If the situation should again come to a head, nobody will know in advance on what side they will be.